The Communist

20c AUGUST 1942

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NO DELAY IN OPENING THE WESTERN FRONT!
EDITORIAL

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VICTORY MUST BE WON
EARL BROWDER

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THE CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

•

ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT
HANS BERGER

•

FOR FARMER-LABOR UNITY IN THE ELECTIONS AND IN THE FOOD-FOR-VICTORY CAMPAIGN
ROBERT DIGBY

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By ANNA ROCHESTER

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THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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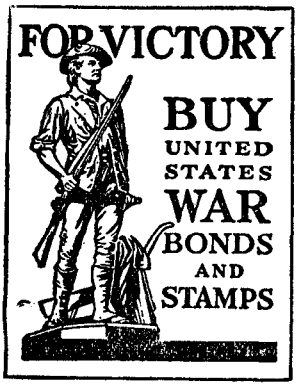

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NO DELAY IN OPENING THE WESTERN FRONT!

AN EDITORIAL

The Second Front—International Trade Union Unity—The Congressional Elections

"We now hold the keys to an adequate policy for winning the war. These keys are: The American-Soviet-British Pacts and alliance—the bulwark of the United Nations and of world democracy; the Washington and London Agreements to open the Second Front in Europe and to extend all-out aid to China. With the fulfillment of these historic agreements, we will have a guiding policy for victory." (Earl Browder, Address at Madison Square Garden, July 2, 1942.)

WITH the battered but still powerful German army and its "allies" now concentrating their maximum strength on the Eastern Front, where our valiant Soviet brothers-in-arms are engaging fully 90 per cent of the Nazi hordes, with major battles now in progress on this decisive theater of war for all of the United Nations, it is not only timely but urgent that we think deeply about the significance of the American-Soviet-British Pacts and alliance. How effectively are we using these keys to victory, to what extent and with what tempo are we moving to the fulfillment of these agreements and above all the "urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942," about which full understanding was reached in the Roosevelt-Molotov negotiations?

The continued delay in the full and immediate implementation of the agreement for launching the Second Front is endangering the position of all of the United Nations, and is working to Hitler's advantage.

Because of this, it must be noted, in recent days an element of doubt bordering on cynicism has crept into the thinking of some people—namely that a Second Front can no longer be realized this year. Hence, questions arise as why we do not withdraw the slogan of "Smash Hitler in 1942."

To all these doubtings and questionings the answer should be given that there is no need for panic, though there is need for deep concern and action. We are much closer to the realization of the Second Front than six weeks ago. A great leap forward has been taken—one of tremendous historical importance — the American-Soviet Agreement and the British-Soviet Pact.

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Six weeks ago the slogan of a Second Front was one aimed at *changing* the established policy of the government. Since the signing of the U. S.-Soviet-British Agreement and Pacts, it *is* the established policy of the government and of the United Nations.

This is no small thing. It is the most important thing that has occurred since June 22 and December 7. Today the fight of the people is no longer directed toward getting the acceptance of this policy on the part of the Government. It is directed instead toward the immediate and most efficient execution of an established policy of the government. In this there is a qualitative difference. If we fail to understand that, we shall fail to fight most effectively for the realization of the Second Front now.

The major significance of the Agreement is to be found in the fact that the Big Three of the United Nations have resolved some of the perplexing political obstacles that stood in the way of all-out common fighting action.

The issue of a Second Front is not only a military, but the key political question. The Agreement and the Pact have established a common understanding, not only on the course to pursue for winning the war, but on the basic approach to the solution of post-war problems. This therefore has partially removed the fears of sections of the bourgeoisie as to the Soviet war objectives, and has strengthened them in the realization that the Soviet Union is not merely an ally for the period of the war but likewise is the strongest and most dependable ally for the creation of post-war security and peace. This was the major political obstacle that had to be hurdled, and it has been hurdled with the signing of the Agreement and the Pact.

If today there exists a certain cynicism and uncertainty among some sections of the people at the slowness in opening a Second Front, this is partly due to the opposite tendency that manifested itself immediately following June 11. At that time and up to very recently, the main reaction of the masses was that the demand for the Second Front had already been realized and that nothing more remained to be done on that score. That was false, as can be seen today. Both of these moods, that of panic and that of complacency, feed each other and lead to a common swamp of passivity.

The decision for a Second Front this year has been made. We have no reason to believe otherwise and we must not fall prey to rumors and speculation to the contrary. But while the decision has been made, there is still much to be done. We must help guarantee first, that that decision become irrevocable through decisive action, and, secondly, that the decisive action assume the scope of an all-out offensive, a major second European land front launched from the West—without further delay.

We must realize that there is not yet a common point of view as to how soon that Front will come into being and as to the scope it will take.

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It may be that the orientation of certain circles in Washington and London is toward opening the Second Front some time near the latter portion of the year, in the late Fall. It is argued that more preparation and more matériel are required and that a greater weakening of the enemy through present engagements would aid the success of the action when it is taken.

Reality dictates otherwise. Every day lost is a day that strengthens the positions of the enemy. Every day lost will make requisite greater forces and greater sacrifices on the part of the United Nations. If Hitler weakens the Soviet offensive strength and military potential, if he should succeed in breaking through and entering the Caucasus, the launching of the Second Front will not be made easier. If Rommel succeeds in reaching Alexandria and Suez, this too will strengthen, not weaken, Hitler. If the Mediterranean becomes a Nazi-dominated waterway, if Turkey is forced into the war on Hitler's side, if France becomes even more brazen in its cooperation with Hitler, if Spain and Portugal give themselves completely to Hitler—and all these eventualities are probable if Hitler makes further advances—then is there any doubt as to who will benefit? And under such circumstances what will happen to Gibraltar, to Malta, to Iran? What will be the outcome throughout the Near and Middle East?

No, to accumulate tanks and planes and guns without regard to time and space is to disregard the truth that only matériel thrown into decisive battles at the decisive moment make for victory.

A further argument has been advanced: that the headway of Rommel in North Africa must change the original decision for a Second Front this year. Nothing is further from the truth. The way to save Suez is not alone by sending reinforcements. We cannot beat the Nazis that way, because their lines of communication are much shorter and more direct—and because the vital center of Axis power is and remains in Europe, in Hitlerite Germany. We can beat them, however, by attacking in full strength across the Channel and then Hitler will be compelled to withdraw some of his forces to meet a two-front war. Instead of scattering our forces, we must compel Hitler to scatter his!

Certain vacillators and half-hearted supporters of the war construe the recent joint statement of Roosevelt and Churchill to mean that the Second Front is designed merely as a diversion to relieve pressure from the U.S.S.R. No. The Second Front is the strategy of victory, the strategy of a two-front nut-cracker assault upon the main base of the enemy.

What explains this restricted approach to the Second Front as well as some of the hesitation and delay? It represents the failure to appreciate fully the danger of not acting swiftly and decisively; it is the last pitiful remnant of the theory of a long war—as if the war hasn't been going on long enough already. And what is the explanation for

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this thesis if not the mistake of seeing the apparent as the real—the overestimation of the strength of the enemy and the underestimation of the ability of the people, who when given bold leadership and a real people's program, can rapidly turn the tide of battle—can smash Hitler before this year is over.

We need a Second Front, not as a mere token action, not as a mere diversion, but as a major offensive. Any front opened in Western Europe, however, will have its own logic of development and will swiftly become a major offensive, which can, in conjunction with the mighty Red Army and the Soviet counter-offensive, speedily crush Hitler and the fascist Axis.

* * *

The Pacts and Agreement between the three great democracies of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain were greeted with joy and enthusiasm by the great mass of the American people; this was reflected in the press and by the actions of numerous people's organizations, especially the trade unions. Their popularity can also be judged by the fact that few appeasers dared openly to attack the Alliance. But this does not mean that the Hoovers and Lindberghs, the McCormacks and Pattersons, have abandoned their efforts at appeasement, at a "negotiated peace" with Hitler, or have given up their anti-Soviet position. On the contrary, the agreements reached on post-war problems, robbing them of a weapon to undermine unity in our country and among the United Nations, drives them to even more desperate attempts to block the victory of the United Nations.

They are therefore increasing their activity and struggle against the Administration's war program, both as regards the main military question—the Second Front in Europe in 1942 and the economic program indispensable for victory. They are also organizing all their forces to utilize the elections for creating division within the nation, distrust among the United Nations, and obstacles to military preparations and the offensive against the Axis. With this in view, they seek to strengthen their position in Congress and in the various State governments.

Most dangerous and destructive is their effort to impede the opening of the Second Front in Europe now. They know that the Second Front in Europe in 1942 is the very core of the Pact and Agreement. They know, too, that it will have decisive influence on the character of the struggle still to be waged, on the sacrifices to be made, on the peace terms, and on the post-war world. At this very moment when, as a result of too much caution and waiting by Great Britain and the United States, Hitler is again able to throw almost his entire strength against the Red Army on the Eastern Front, with the Second Front in Europe an urgent necessity for the United Nations, the defeatists and "cautious calculators" are finding new "reasons" against the Second Front, for concentrating on other fronts. The setback of the British forces on the Libyan-Egyp-

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tian front, instead of being the occasion for emphasizing the urgency of a concentration against the enemy's main forces by a Second Front, becomes for them a pretext for urging further delay. Even the heroic resistance of the Red Army becomes an excuse for urging delay. While last year they urged that aid to the Soviet Union be withheld because it would be "too late," they now resist a Second Front asserting that the Soviet Union will hold out by itself.

The working class, the mass of the people generally, the men in the ranks of the armed forces, some of the younger and more resolute officers in Britain and to a lesser but yet considerable extent in our country, have been an important influence in bringing about the adoption of the policy of the Second Front this year. They were a force in overcoming the open opposition of the appeasers, the counsel of delay on the part of the "cautious calculators." *Today more than ever it is necessary that the people, and in the first place the workers and their trade unions, demonstrate their unswerving determination for the immediate opening of the second front, for realizing our government's decision.*

At the same time the threat presented to the U.S.A. and all the United Nations by Japan's invasion of the Aleutian Islands must be met effectively, while concentrating our efforts to strike the main blow against Hitler in a Western European land front. It is of urgent necessity to organize the most efficient civilian defense in Alaska and along the entire West Coast of the American mainland. In addition, the road now under construction from our mainland to Alaska should be completed with the least delay.

Many labor organizations and individual trade union leaders have spoken out. The magnificent speech of President Green at the recent Russian War Relief Meeting echoed the sentiments of the great membership of the A.F. of L. for the immediate opening of the Second Front. The C.I.O. has spoken out nationally and through many of its affiliates, such as the Rubber Workers International Union, and likewise, City Councils, like the powerful Greater New York Industrial Union Council. The latter organization is holding a mass demonstration to hasten the Second Front. But all this can only be a beginning. From every local and national union of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., the Railroad Brotherhoods, from every mine, mill and ship, from every Council of labor, must come the cry *Open the Second Front Now—We Are Ready!* There can be no doubt that such support for the policy of our nation as embodied in the Pact and Agreement will hasten the opening of the Second Front. It will evidence the determination of the working class and the whole people to stop at no task, at no sacrifice, to realize victory over the Axis.

The working class, we are certain, will not only demonstrate this determination, but will also intensify its effort to produce the war materials to sustain the Second Front, as well as to assure the necessary

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supplies to our armed forces and to our allies in the other theaters of war.

All obstacles to increased production must be removed, no matter from what quarter they come. At a moment like this, when the fate of the world is being decided, when millions of our allies and many of our own best sons have made and are making the supreme sacrifice there can be no tolerance for business-as-usual or trade unionism-as-usual. Every available facility, including the many thousands of still unused small plants, must be quickly harnessed to the war production machinery. Any hesitancy impairs both the volume of production as well as the morale of large numbers of patriotic citizens.

The President's program against discrimination in the hiring of Negro workers must be carried through everywhere. Many of the unions are making progress in overcoming such discrimination in their industries. The leadership of the United Automobile Workers of America merits congratulations for its prompt action in Detroit, where a number of backward workers, duped by K.K.K. agents, staged a so-called strike against the hiring of Negro workers. Our production effort and national unity as well as the problem of the mobilization of the masses in the colonies and semi-colonial countries to fight on the side of the United Nations require that the unions and all of the American people beat down boldly and promptly Jim Crowism and discrimination wherever they exist. Similarly, the hiring of loyal non-citizens in the war industries, as requested by the President, will aid the production program.

The labor movement must take the initiative to unite the workers, farmers, small businessmen, and the whole people behind the President's 7-point economic program, not just for this point or that point, but for the entire program. This is essential to victory over the Axis. *On every front let us show our readiness and determination to throw everything into the struggle, for the opening of the Second Front now to smash Hitler and his Axis partners.*

* * *

"All men who deeply desire the full extirpation of Nazism in all its varieties from the world will not only greet this announced program [Pact and Agreement] as an ideal but *will shape their every word and deed to helping to bring its full realization into life.*" (Emphasis ours—Browder, *ibid.*)

What then can be said of the irresponsible, shameful and shocking position adopted by the A.F. of L. Council on the Citrine proposal in behalf of the British trade unions, that the A.F. of L. adhere to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee? Many months have passed since this proposal was first made before the Council. Months in which world-shaking events have taken place. But the Council remained silent. Even the official proceedings do not refer to the action taken, which we now know was tantamount to outright rejection. The Council did not even so much as issue a public statement on this burn-

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ing question; for even these hard-boiled men knew that their action would be condemned by the entire labor movement. Instead, we have the information through an anonymous editorial published in the current issue of the Teamsters Union Journal, of which Dan Tobin is Editor in Chief.

From this editorial we learn that the Council rejected the Citrine proposal for the following reason: The Council refuses to recognize the Soviet trade unions as "free trade unions" on the grounds that the Soviet Government is the sole employer and that the leadership of the Soviet trade union movement is chosen by the government. We also learn that the Council made a counter-proposal to the effect that the A. F. of L. meet with the British representatives only and that any questions to be taken up concerning the American and Soviet trade unions shall be taken up through the British trade unions as intermediary.

Comrade Foster, in an article in *The Worker* of July 12, effectively characterized the Council's stand:

"This outrageous decision by the A.F. of L. Executive Council not to deal with the Soviet trade unions is a shame to American trade unionism, an insult to the Soviet people and a blow at the interests of our country at war."

At the very moment when our country enters into a historic Agreement and understanding with the Soviet Government, when the great mass of the American people is completely re-evaluating its former attitude toward the Soviet Union and is enraged at the professional anti-Soviet liars, falsifiers and poison-pen wielders; when the working class and people see that aid to, and collaboration with, the Soviet Union are vital to the national defense of our country and freedom; when the Soviet people and its heroic Red Army are again bearing the main brunt in the struggle against the Hitler hordes --at this very moment we find the majority of the leaders who control the A. F. of L. Council repeating their old hatred, their old prejudices, making common cause with the worst enemies of our country, with the appeasers, fascists and defeatists.

Do these men speak for the A.F. of L. membership? Most certainly not. The A.F. of L. membership, no less than the membership of the C.I.O. unions and the Railroad Brotherhoods, whose leaders and organizations have gone on record favoring the adherence of the American trade union movement to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, know that the magnificent struggle of the Soviet people and its Red Army is possible only because the Soviet people know what they are fighting for, know that they have something to defend. The A.F. of L. membership, no less than the C.I.O. membership or the British trade unionists, know that the great labor movement of the Soviet Union is truly a free trade union movement and that its officers are elected in the most democratic fashion. The argument that the Soviet government is the sole

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employer will carry little weight even with workers who are opposed to socialism, but who are in favor of organizing the workers employed directly or indirectly by the U. S. Government. And the number of government employees is inevitably growing larger as a result of the war. Workers kept down by the autocratic rule of Bill Hutcheson will consider it amusing, to say the least, to have this great "democrat" question the democratic procedure of the Soviet trade union movement.

No, the majority of the A.F. of L. Council did not express the opinions of the membership; there never was an issue on which they were so diametrically opposed to the opinions and wishes of their membership. We say majority, because it is inconceivable that William Green, in the light of his recent speech at Madison Square Garden, could be associated with this decision or the arguments set forth; in fact, he was not. The reference in the Teamsters Journal editorial to the days of debate on this issue, the withholding of an official declaration, the announcement that the issue will come up again for discussion at the August meeting of the Council, indicates that there must have been an influential minority on this issue, a minority led by President Green. As for the rank-and-file expression, we have seen that in every labor gathering where this question was taken up it was acted upon favorably. This is true, not only of many local unions of the A.F. of L., but also of such national gatherings as the recent conventions of the international unions of building service workers and jewelry workers, as well as the May convention of the Pennsylvania State A.F. of L.

How was it possible for the Executive Council to make this vicious decision? There can be no doubt that the prime mover of this sinister action was the America Firster, the reactionary Republican spokesman, the friend of Hoover—Bill Hutcheson. For him this step was a logical consequence of his whole position. He is opposed, not only to A.F. of L. adherence to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, but to our country's war effort, to the whole war program of the government. His position in the A.F. of L. is identical with that of Lewis in the C.I.O. All their joint maneuvers, including their so-called "unity" proposal, aim to create division in labor's ranks, to weaken the Roosevelt Administration, to impede our country's war program.

In addition to Hutcheson the hand of the professional Soviet-baiter, Matthew Woll, is clearly in evidence. This worthy, who for decades has been associated with everything that is rotten and reactionary in our country and has tried to bring this influence into the labor movement, openly campaigned against the Citrine proposal in the press. He is also closely associated with the anti-Soviet forces in the so-called "Social-Democratic Federation," whose influence has lately been felt in the leadership of the I.L.G.W.U., one of the largest A.F.

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of L. affiliates. And while President Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. is not a member of the Executive Council, he is known to be in opposition to the Citrine proposal.

Undoubtedly others in the Council who support the war, who would do nothing consciously that would hurt the war effort, were for one reason or another won over to the position of Hutcheson and Woll. It is clear that the Hutchesons and Wolls worked on their old prejudices and conjured up new fears as to what would happen to their leadership as a result of the direct association of the American trade union movement with the Soviet trade unions.

But it must be said that the Council's action also shows that the A.F. of L. international unions, central bodies, and tens of thousands of local unions have not yet risen to the occasion on this question. With men of the Hutcheson-Woll stripe on the Council, such attempts on their part should have been foreseen and met by the mass expression of the A.F. of L. organizations and membership in advance of the Council's action. Even before the news of the A.F. of L. action became known, there should have been a demand for action. Even the more progressive and Left forces in the A.F. of L. did not do all that was possible and necessary on such a burning issue. But that can and must now be corrected. The Council's action cannot be accepted as final. On the contrary, it must become the occasion for the fullest mobilization of the A.F. of L. membership in support of those who, like William Green, have expressed the sentiments of the membership. It must be the task of the A.F. of L. organizations to expose, isolate and defeat the Hutchesons and Wolls. The waverers, those falling into the traps of old prejudices and practices, must be bolstered up by the will of their membership and made to take a stand in line with their membership's desires.

The major tasks which we must undertake to enlighten and mobilize the A. F. of L. membership in support of the Citrine proposal, in order to bring labor's support behind the American-Soviet-British Pacts and alliance, was thus summed up by Comrade Foster in his above-mentioned article:

"The workers should insist upon learning who were the Council members that voted against the American labor movement's joint war cooperation with the British and Soviet trade unions. The proceedings of the Council meeting must be made public. The workers have a right to know how such defeatist elements as Hutcheson and Woll managed to blackjack the Council into adopting its stupid and unpatriotic decision.

"The organized workers everywhere should let their voices be heard in protest against the Executive Council's action. They should demand that the Council, at its August meeting, throw the previous decisions into the wastebasket and adopt the proposals made by Citrine. Also the C.I.O. should not let its recent resolution for collaboration with the British and Russian unions be blocked by the A. F. of L.

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Executive Council's asininity, but should go right ahead with its execution. In the meantime it is to be hoped that the British Trade Union Congress will accept the C.I.O. proposals, will not be a party to the disgraceful project of the A. F. of L. and will insist upon its original proposition for organized war collaboration between the three great labor movements."

* * *

"But this policy [embodied in the Pact and Agreement] must be fought for. The labor movement, the entire people must and will support this policy. At this moment this—the nation's policy—must be fought for in the Congressional elections. We must have such a Congress as will strongly express this line of policy. The present Congress does not; after voting appropriations, it continues politics as usual, worse than an industrialist or labor leader who continues 'business as usual.' The Congressional elections thus become a vital front in the winning of the war. We must have a Congress with the single thought of turning everything to victory in the war." (Browder, *Ibid.)*

This approach to the Congressional and State elections should be the guiding line for every Communist, every militant and honest force in the labor and people's movement. Through the Communists and other advanced anti-fascists it must become the approach to the elections on the part of the labor movement as a whole and of every patriotic citizen. Only in this way will it be possible to cut through all the confusion and politics-as-usual still noticeable in the selection of candidates and the facing of issues; to block the politics-as-usual of the entrenched machines with their special vested interests; and to bring about in all Congressional districts, in the campaign for all posts, the coalition of all patriotic citizens of all classes around a clear-cut win-the-war program of action, behind a single *Win-the-War* candidate. Such a candidate is not one who pays lip service to the war effort and hides his defeatism behind a false mask, but one who truly represents and fights for the unity of the people behind the policies of our government, the fighting unity of the United Nations, the launching of the Second Front in Europe now, the President's 7-point economic program, maximum production and the crushing of the pro-fascists and defeatists.

Unfortunately, not even all the Communist organizations and members have yet displayed that full understanding and zeal in the work of mobilizing for the Congressional elections. This is so above all because the elections are not yet viewed in their full and true lights as "a vital front in the winning of the war." Such clarity and activity on the part of our own organizations are essential for winning the labor movement and the people for such an understanding of the elections.

While great progress has been made by the labor movement in many localities in establishing unity between the A.F. of L. the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods around one list of candidates and

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on a common platform, as in California and Illinois, this is not yet true everywhere. There is a great prospect that such unity will be realized in most of the other important states. It is possible everywhere to unite the official labor movement behind a single Win-the-War slate. Even the local organizations of the miners and the carpenters can be won for this policy, despite Lewis and Hutcheson, but only on the basis of challenging their leadership. *A big step forward and greater guarantees for labor's united and most active participation in the elections would be achieved if the national organizations of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. would set up a joint machinery for the Congressional elections.* Whether such unity can be brought about through the proposed *Joint Win-the-War Convention,* as suggested by the C.I.O., through the *Labor Victory Board,* or through some other form, is of secondary importance. What is important is that such joint cooperation for the Congressional elections be established. In the meantime it is undoubtedly necessary for the C.I.O. nationally to set up its own machinery and give a lead to its affiliated unions and its state and local organizations. This will become more and more urgent for the C.I.O., especially since Lewis will enter actively into the elections against the Win-the-War candidates and try to resurrect Labor's Non-Partisan League as his private instrument to serve reaction and defeatism.

Today, more than ever before, labor is in a position to establish unity in the elections with the mass of the working farmers, the Negro people, small businessmen, and professionals. It is in a position to collaborate with, help unify and influence the win-the-war forces and sections of the Democratic and Republican Parties, and to help forge a broad coalition of the camp of national unity, embracing all opponents of Hitler and Hitlerism, whether they be Democrats, Republcans, Communists, Laborites or Independents. This is so because labor's role in the war has made it a recognized force in the country as a whole and in every community, not only for its own interests, but in the interests of the entire nation. Labor's struggle for the rights of the Negro people, the recent joint intervention of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., the Farmers Union, the Railroad Brotherhoods and representatives of the Protestant and Catholic faiths in behalf of the working farmers emphasizes this new role of labor. Labor's activity in behalf of the small business men, which in some cases has resulted in winning war orders for them; labor's activity in behalf of the President's 7-point economic program—all these activities make possible nationally and in all state and Congressional districts the broadest coalition of the people behind *Win-the-War* candidates and platforms, and the routing of the defeatists in the elections. But labor will be effective in this policy to the extent that it itself acts as a united force.

The anti-Willkie Republicans,

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controlling the national machinery of the Republican Party and most of the state's machinery, as in New York where the machine candidate for Governor is Tom Dewey, furnish the main vehicle for the defeatists in the elections. But there are also many appeasers and defeatists in the Democratic Party—such men as Dies, Barry, Wheeler, Reynolds, as well as such anti-Semites and fascists as Congressman Rankin and labor-baiters like Congressman Smith of Virginia. In some states, as for example in New York, the old machine politicians are trying to block the unity of the people and the selection of genuine supporters of the President's foreign and domestic policies. In these elections it will therefore be necessary for labor and the people to make their voice felt in the selection of candidates by both the Democratic and Republican Parties and then decide their choice as between the two parties and their candidates on the basis of their record, their pledges, their platform and their backers. In some cases where the machines present two anti-*Win-the-War* candidates, the coalition of labor and the people will be confronted with the necessity to put forth their own independent candidate.

A special test of the labor and people's coalition in the Congressional election will be to assure the defeat of outstanding appeasers and defeatists in the House and the Senate, no matter whether they be Republicans, like Senator Brooks (Illinois) or Congressman Fish (New York), or Democrats of the type of Congressman Sweeny (Ohio), Barry (New York) and Smith (Virginia). Of equal importance is the need to elect with the biggest possible majorities all Congressmen whose record behind our country's war effort and for the policies of the United Nations is outstanding, irrespective of whether they be Democrats, Republicans, Independents, American Labor Party, etc. In this connection it must be stated that it is a sad commentary on the situation thus far, that Congressmen of the type of Dies were allowed to slip back to Congress without any opposition against them in the Texas primaries. This should serve as a lesson and a warning that there is no time to be lost.

The latest attack of Congressman Dies upon the Union for Democratic Action, the *New Republic, PM,* and others because of their effort to defeat outstanding appeasement Congressmen and the Red-baiting method used by Dies in the campaign of terrorizing labor and liberal groups indicate the pattern of reaction in the Congressional elections. It must not be forgotten that through such methods Dies and the pro-fascists were able in the past, and especially in the 1938 Congressional elections, to defeat many progressive candidates, including the Farmer-Labor Governor Benson of Minnesota and the present Justice Murphy, then Governor of Michigan.

One of the chief lessons to be learned from the Dies method of attack is that the progressive forces will inevitably be defeated when they fall into the trap set for them

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by Dies, by themselves engaging in Red-baiting in order to prove that they are not "Communists." In this respect it must be said that the leaders of the U.D.A., no less than the leadership of the A.L.P. State Committee in New York, are playing into Dies' hands by Red-baiting as part of their defense against the Dies charges. It is time for the labor, liberal and progressive forces to recognize that such attacks are dangerous, even more so for them than for the Communists, and to recognize what is a fact, that the Communists are an integral part of the labor and progressive forces, a most loyal and devoted force in the Win-the-War coalition.

The Communists on their part, must strive today more than ever to work in a manner that will aid in cementing the broadest unity of labor and the people, for the single objective—to win the war. By their work in the factories and trade unions, by their work in the communities, by their efforts to strengthen every phase of our country's war efforts, in the armed forces, in the preparations for realizing the Second Front, in the Congressional and State elections, they must set an example and thereby rouse labor and the people to the understanding and course of action in line with the following words of Comrade Browder:

"With full faith in the justness of the United Nations' cause, as a Peoples' War of National Liberation; with full faith that our own true national interests coincide with those of other peoples; with pride and confidence in American labor's mighty contributions to our nation's war; with strict adherence to principle as the only sure guide to effective solution of all domestic and international problems; with the inspiration of the glorious achievements of our Soviet ally in this war; with confidence that British and American arms will earn their full share of the glory of final victory—we join our voices to the call to all Americans:

"Unite for victory!

"Open the Western Front now and smash Hitler in 1942!

"Everything for the destruction of the Nazi-Fascist Axis!"

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* *Victory Must Be Won*, Workers Library Publishers, p. 15.

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VICTORY MUST BE WON *

BY EARL BROWDER
General Secretary, Communist Party

FELLOW AMERICANS:

I am glad to be with you.

We are participants in a globe-encircling war. Its outcome will decide the fate of mankind for many generations. Hitlerism, Nazism, gathering to itself all the dark forces of the world, bids for world domination. It has overrun country after country. Only in the Soviet Union has it met serious military reverses and been thrown back on its heels. But the Axis monster still seriously bids for triumph. It is not yet beaten. It openly proclaims its intention to subjugate the United States. Already the vanguard of Axis military invasion has landed on our Pacific islands, while Atlantic Coast invasion begins with the eight spies and diversionists caught red-handed after landing with explosives from submarines. The United States is in the most deadly danger of its 166 years of independence. It is war, deadly war, a war of life and death for all nations. It has been truly described as a war of survival.

If Hitlerism is victorious, then mankind is thrown back into the darkness of pre-history, human progress of tens of centuries is wiped out. Our children and grandchildren, with their fellows over the world, will suffer a slavery worse than anything the primitive world had known. For Hitler is the ape-man, armed with the most modern military science, claiming to rule the world.

For us in the United States, as for the peoples of the whole world, this war has become a Peoples' War of National Liberation. Our very existence is at stake. That is why the obligatory slogan is: "Everything to win the war! Everything for victory over the Axis!"

The masses of the people are prepared to take up their tasks in this war. It is unfortunately true, however, that our country is not fully organized for the supreme test, that serious obstacles are showing themselves. I do not speak tonight of the shortcomings in economic mobilization; with all its weaknesses, the economic side is still the strongest phase of our war effort, thanks to the labor-management-government joint committees and the unleashing of labor's initiative in production through the trade unions. Tonight I wish to speak mainly of questions of policy, of the mobilization of the masses behind policy, of morale, of those factors which make it possible

* Speech at Madison Square Garden, July 2, 1942.

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for a nation to throw its full force into the scales of war, to win victory.

We must never forget that armaments and matériel of war are not enough to win. Arms are only the instruments of policy. Without correct policy we are defenseless though we have arms a hundredfold. The long and mounting list of catastrophes since Hitler took power in Germany are monuments to blunders, and weaknesses in policy —a hundred times more than to lack of arms. The world has been paying for its lack of guiding policy with the lives of its youth and the freedom of its peoples.

We now hold the keys to an adequate policy for winning the war. These keys are: The American-Soviet-British Pacts and alliance—the bulwark of the United Nations and of world democracy; the Washington and London Agreements to open the Second Front in Europe and to extend all-out aid to China. With the fulfillment of these historic agreements, we will have a guiding policy for victory.

But this policy must be fought for. The labor movement, the entire people must and will support this policy. At this moment this—the nation's policy—must be fought for in the Congressional elections. We must have such a Congress as will strongly express this line of policy. The present Congress does not; after voting appropriations, it continues politics as usual, worse than the industrialist or labor leader who continues "business as usual." The Congressional elections thus become a vital front in the winning of the war. We must have a Congress with the single thought of turning everything to victory in the war.

With the fall of Hitler the entire Axis will be speedily crushed. Hitler can be smashed in 1942! With 90 per cent of Hitler's forces tied down on the Eastern Front, now is the time to strike in the West, to open up the Second Front in Europe. That requires that the United States carry its full share of the battle—now, not in a year or two. The old and shameful epitaph, "Too little and too late," must be buried and forgotten. We must strike the enemy with all our force and on time. And this is the time, this is the crucial year.

There is only one country as yet pulling its full weight in this supreme test of war. Only the Soviet Union has thrown everything into the scales. When General MacArthur said: "The hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army," he was not inviting us to stand aside and admire the Soviet Union, waiting for them to win the war for us; he was calling upon us to emulate the completeness of their effort.

When William Green, in his wholly admirable speech of June 22, declared his wholehearted solidarity with the Soviet people, he was speaking not for the American Federation alone but for all labor, and above all he was speaking for the United States to do its part now, in time. The patriotic speech of Green, and the call of the C.I.O. Executive for cooperation of American labor with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council, must now give rise to the

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unity of action of the great labor movements of our countries which is necessary to achieve victory.

I have not the slightest doubt of the ultimate victory of the peoples over Nazism. But I know that the price of victory in lives and wealth will be much higher, unnecessarily high, if we fail to achieve full national unity in the United States in a mighty effort for victory in 1942.

As spokesman for the Communist Party, I declare that we subordinate every issue to this one imperative necessity of national unity under the nation's Commander-in-Chief to win the war at the earliest possible moment, which means at minimum cost.

National unity does not come automatically. It must be won. It has many enemies, of whom the most dangerous are the masked ones. Washington had his Tories and Benedict Arnolds in 1776-1783, Madison had his Federalist defeatists and traitors in 1812; Lincoln had his Copperheads and Vallandighams—today, President Roosevelt must deal with the modern version of this ancient evil, the Fifth Column, which to its predecessors is as the airplane to the ox-cart.

The Fifth Column's first and most important job is to undermine and break national unity. To build and maintain national unity requires us to expose, isolate and crush Hitler's Fifth Column in the United States, with all its dupes and stooges. The Fifth Column is Hitler's "secret weapon" with which he rose to power, with which he prepared his invasions of one country after another. It is the weapon upon which Hitler depends especially to conquer the United States.

If you want to know who are the Fifth Column, ask what Hitler wanted most of all to accomplish in the United States in the past two years in order to prepare to conquer us. The answer is, obviously, that Hitler most of all wanted to keep apart and hostile the two most powerful nations in the world, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., to prevent that fighting alliance of these two countries with England, and, after the alliance had been made, to weaken and undermine it.

Who has been most active creating issues and rousing sentiments which tended to make more difficult the consummation of the alliance of those powerful nations which could seal Hitler's doom? When you answer that question you have the names of Hitler's chief Fifth Columnists in the United States. And, amazingly enough, we find them in positions of influence and prestige, working away quite industriously in a way to delight the hearts of Hitler and Goebbels in Berlin.

What names would head that list? Each one will have his own opinion, according to his own observations. Certainly one would be that of a prominent American ex-statesman who was chief organizer in the U.S. of arms for Field Marshal Baron von Mannerheim, whose American-made planes are today sinking American ships off Murmansk. Fantastically enough, the same issues of the newspapers last week which hailed this person as a most im-

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portant advisor on how to make peace (presumably without victory, for he has no word for that) also report in their news columns that his protégé Mannerheim has just visited Hitler to re-pledge his fealty and to plan his new attacks against the American supply line to the Soviet Union, while Mannerheim's agent Procope sits in Washington gathering information for his chiefs. Thus far are we from really combating the Fifth Column!

Another, if less illustrious, name on our list would have to be Congressman Martin Dies. Who worked so hard as he over years to the single end of creating every possible obstacle to understanding and agreement between the two great powers whose unity was and is essential to the safety and survival of each, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.? I advise everyone to read and re-read Martin Dies' book, *The Trojan Horse in America: A Report to the Nation*. From the typewriter of the man whom Congress placed in charge of protecting our country from the Fifth Column, this book is the prize exhibit of what the Fifth Column and its master, Hitler, wanted most of all in this country. It is an impassioned indictment of the Soviet Union, and of Joseph Stalin, as the deadly enemy, practically the only serious enemy, of the United States. He foresees that the U.S. will join in the war against the Soviet Union, but not against Germany. Americans are branded by Dies as "traitors" because they refused to endorse in advance Mr. Dies'—and Hitler's—war against the Soviet Union. Mr. Dies did and wrote everything in his power to prevent the establishment of the United Nations, and the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Alliance, which today is our greatest guarantee of victory over Hitler.

Those who believed Martin Dies —and he has but recently been again endorsed by Congress—must hold a deadly fear of our ally, the Soviet Union, must consider the Alliance an unfortunate accident or great mistake—in short, must think exactly as Hitler wishes them to think in order the better to soften up, isolate and finally conquer the United States as he has done with unfortunate France. Surely Hitler finds Martin Dies' work of more value to his campaign of world conquest than even the open pro-Nazism of Laval, Doriot or Quisling, because it contributes to confusing and defeating the greatest prize of all, the U.S.A. It is not for nothing that the Berlin radio has long praised Martin Dies as the best authority on America.

Uncover the trail of Martin Dies, and it will lead to most of the nests of Hitler's agents in the U.S., whose mission is to break up national unity, throw the public into turmoil, sow suspicion and fear of our allies, and block the way to an all-out effort to win the war. It will lead to a number of politicians, publicists, newspapers, radio commentators, political groupings—and behind them Tory industrialists and financiers, our American counterparts of the German Krupps and Thyssens.

My own enforced sojourn for fourteen months in the solitudes of Georgia was an incidental by-prod-

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uct of the desperate efforts of world reaction, headed by Hitler, to prevent by all means the realization of the U.S.-Soviet Alliance which I, as the spokesman for my party, had long advocated as essential to the national interests of our own country as to the whole freedom-loving world.

Today it is the official policy of the U.S. Government that the defense of the Soviet Union is vital to the national interests of the American people. There is much merit in the thought expressed recently by Walter Lippmann that Russia, regardless of its prevailing regime, was always the natural ally of the United States; it is a hundred times true since Russia became the socialist Soviet Union.

Today, it is universally admitted that the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership—so viciously denounced over the years by the Fifth Column—saved the world from Hitler's conquest when it turned back the Nazi invasion. What MacArthur termed "the greatest military achievement in all history" saved the Soviet Union from slavery, and at the same time gave to Britain and the United States the possibility of victory, saved civilization itself.

But today we still have in our U.S. statutes a whole series of laws, based upon the assumption that the Soviet Union is the enemy of civilization in general and of the United States in particular, and outlawing as "foreign agents" those Americans who over the years have looked upon the Soviet Union as a friendly power and potential ally. These laws were largely the result of Martin Dies' propaganda, and therefore are shaped in a way to please and serve Hitler. They are the peculiar product of Hitler's technique of international conquest. I refer to the anti-Communist laws.

Most persons still think the anti-Communist laws are to suppress some obnoxious and disagreeable, if not dangerous, people who belong to a small minority party and are therefore not of much importance even if an injustice is being done. I speak against these laws not as a matter of injustice, but as an injury to American democracy. These laws, and the witch-hunts and purges authorized by them, are a Hitlerite poison at the very wellsprings of American political and social life. They tear down the American democratic electoral system. They are being used to disrupt national unity and hamper the war effort. They are the instruments of Hitler's hidden invasion of the United States. They must be wiped out, not in the interests of the Communists, but in the interests of winning the war. Every listener will know from his own experience and observation the serious disruption of our democratic processes that comes from the Red-baiting campaign.

From the moment this global war and our participation in it became inevitable, the Communist Party declared for the unconditional subordination of all issues to that one issue of winning the war. We meant, among other things, that our proposals for socialism in our country will not be brought forward in any way that could disrupt national

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unity for the war effort. It does not mean, as some persons have charged, that we advocate that all redress of grievances should be postponed until the war is won. A typical and pressing demand for redress of grievances is that being made by Negro citizens for the removal of disabilities and discriminations which have long denied their full rights under the Constitution. The Communist Party supports these demands of the Negro people unconditionally, and we declare that they must be granted now, at once—precisely in the interests of national unity, of utilizing every productive force, for winning the war. Support for the war requires support for the demands of the Negro people, and not silence on these demands or their denial.

A leading Negro paper, *The New York Age*, in its current issue, while recognizing the Communist Party as an outstanding fighter for Negro rights "until the war," assumes that we are sacrificing Negro rights to the needs of war, and have made our peace with race prejudice, in order not to come into collision with Southern Democrats and their "white supremacy" dogma. Such an assumption is nonsense, as we have always proved by our work, and can arise only from a misunderstanding. We consider the "white supremacy" slogan of Southern Bourbons one of the greatest dangers to the U. S. in this war, tending to drive away from us our allies and potential allies in Asia, Africa, and part of the Americas; only as we prove this "white supremacy" ideology does not represent the United States can those allies have trust in us.

We consider it necessary to find immediate remedies for the grievances of the Negroes, in a way that will help, not hinder, the successful prosecution of the war. This is quite possible, since the Negroes are overwhelmingly supporting the war, and the Administration has proved its sincere desire to work in this direction.

No, there is not the slightest reason for misunderstanding between any Negro leaders and the Communists because of our support of the war; and we should give no opportunity for doubtful forces to speculate with misunderstandings. In the course of the war we Americans will wipe out the shame of a Hitler-like race discrimination among American citizens, the anti-Negro laws and customs, and the newly rising anti-Semitism along with it.

Just as the blows of war have forced Britain to revise her whole approach to India, so the U. S. is being forced to reconsider the position of the only "subject nation" under U. S. domination—Puerto Rico. We cannot win a Peoples' War for National Liberation by ourselves continuing to hold a people in "subjection." It is a disgrace that our Government continues to treat the purest Puerto Rican patriots as "criminals" and "traitors," just as the British for so long treated the Irish, with such dire results for themselves.

Let us not, like the Cripps mission to India, repeat the old mistake of "too little and too late." Puerto Rico is not a mere military outpost

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of the U. S., it is above all a Latin American nation. It must be treated as such, or we compromise our moral standing in a war where morals and morale play an ever more decisive part.

One final word, the Pacts announced on June 11 establishing the Anglo - Soviet - American Alliance, not only decided on the immediate problems of crushing the Axis. They also, and equally important for winning the war, outlined a post-war collaboration for the common tasks of world reconstruction. In the Anglo-Soviet Pact this is embodied in a formal Twenty-Year Alliance. This is of enormous significance, opening up a new era in international relationships, with consequences we now can only begin to understand. It is the complete refutation of all pessimists and prophets of evil, who would weaken our will to victory now by picturing disasters to come after the war.

The freedom-loving nations, whether capitalist like the U.S.A. or socialist like the Soviet Union, or some intermediate forms that may appear, are pledging themselves to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the post-war world. All men who deeply desire the full extirpation of Nazism in all its varieties from the world will not only greet this announced program as an ideal, but will shape their every word and deed to helping to bring its full realization in life.

With full faith in the justness of the United Nations' cause, as a Peoples' War of National Liberation; with full faith that our own true national interests coincide with those of other peoples; with pride and confidence in American labor's mighty contributions to our nation's war; with strict adherence to principle as the only sure guide to effective solution of all domestic and international problems; with the inspiration of the glorious achievements of our Soviet ally in this war; with confidence that British and American arms will earn their full share of the glory of final victory—we join our voices to the call to all Americans:

Unite for victory!

Open the Western Front now and smash Hitler in 1942!

Everything for the destruction of the Nazi-Fascist Axis!

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DELAY IN INITIATING THE SECOND FRONT MAY SPELL DISASTER

BY GREGORY ALEXANDROV

THE task of scoring victory over German fascism and its hangers-on in Europe was formulated by Stalin as the cardinal, decisive, political and military task of the Soviet people at the present stage. In society, even in conditions of so-called normal peacetime, it is incredibly difficult to disclose the real possibilities for carrying out one or another major historical task. To determine the path of future development, the real possibilities for immediate development must be fully and exactly summed up as well as for realizing and utilizing these possibilities.

In wartime the task of taking into account the real possibilities and particularly the probable course of military operations becomes extremely complicated. It becomes much more difficult to orientate oneself in the swift-moving tide of events. That is why in conditions of war it often happens that what one army regards as a very important prerequisite of its victory, in the course of the war proves to be a factor of secondary importance which has no decisive bearing on the situation.

Only the Marxist-Leninist world outlook correctly reveals all aspects of the course and perspectives of war. One cannot only proceed from the fact that all the objective prerequisites for victory exist: greater possibilities to produce arms than Germany possesses and to mobilize greater armed forces; inexhaustible supplies of strategic raw materials, fuel, etc. All this is only half of the problem. The other half is the ability properly to use these real possibilities for victory to bring about victory in practical struggle, to transform the favorable objective prerequisites, conditions, possibilities of victory into real victory, into reality.

In the present conditions of war when the possibilities for victory are already won, the able utilization of these possibilities, their realization in practice, become of decisive significance. To evaluate the perspective of war only on the basis of possibilities—though they be a real objective—would mean supplying one side's solution to the problem without weighing all the pros and cons of the forthcoming struggle. But it would be just as erroneous to base our analysis on our energy, ability and desire to score victory alone. Ignoring the real possibilities for victory in

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political and military matters as often as not leads to adventurist tactics and strategy, to defeat.

Some years ago Stalin said that there were cases in the history of states, and armies, when all possibilities for success, for victory, existed, but these possibilities were wasted, not taken advantage of and armies suffered defeat. To cite two examples:

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1806, following a number of victories over the Prussian Army, a small group of Napoleon's troops under Marshal Ney approached Magdeburg, one of the strongest German fortresses, which was defended by a big garrison under General Kleist. Marshal Ney lacked the military and technical means to besiege the fortress. He issued an order to fire a salvo from four light mortars at his disposal, with the result that the frightened Kleist capitulated without battle. In this case the Germans possessed everything to put up a stubborn defense, to inflict heavy losses on the besieging French units and maybe even to defeat them. However, these possibilities were not utilized and the Prussians suffered defeat.

A second example: In 1916 Russian troops under Brusilov inflicted a telling defeat on the German-Austrian troops at Lutsk, pierced the enemy's defenses and created the prerequisite for gaining important strategic successes. Between May and November, 1916, actual conditions presented themselves for following Brusilov's success and scoring a victory over Germany. However, these favorable conditions were not taken advantage of.

The aforementioned facts convincingly prove how important it is in conditions of war to weigh the possibilities of victory from all aspects and skilfully benefit from them, how important it is to master them in the course of battles.

In the present conditions, when the freedom-loving peoples of the world have won actual possibilities, the objective prerequisites for the successful development and victorious outcome of the war against Hitlerite Germany, the all-important task facing the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and other allied states, is not only further to consolidate and strengthen the real possibilities for victory, but also to fight for the timely, skilful and decisive realization of these possibilities to achieve victory over the enemy.

And since the objective possibilities for victory over German fascism will be utilized by the freedom-loving peoples of the world, the outcome of the war will depend mainly on the purposeful, vigorous activity of the people fighting fascist Germany: on the synchronized and able operations of the armies of all states battling against Hitlerism, on the extent of the abilities of the men and commanders of the Red Army and the Armies of our Allied countries to master rich, military technique, on the self-sacrificing work of tens of millions of working people who are supplying the front and rear with everything necessary to wage the present war,

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etc. This at present is the all-important thing.

The methods of using the favorable, actual conditions of victory are exceptionally varied. The prime tasks in this sphere are the full realization of the treaties between the U.S.S.R. and England as well as between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to open a second front in Europe in 1942, the elaboration and carrying out of the strategic plans of the High Command of the Red Army and the armies of other freedom-loving peoples, the concentration of the armed forces of the anti-Hitler coalition, the selection of the right moment to inflict hammer blows on the enemy, the corresponding maneuvering and utilization of big reserves, etc.

In other words, it is a question of every one of the Allied countries using all possible forces which they possess with the utmost insight, expediency and determination in the fight against the common enemy. The actual possibilities for vanquishing the adversary and our ability properly to avail ourselves of these possibilities are successfully taking shape and strength in the course of the patriotic war of the Soviet Union. This also explains why the Soviet people today, despite the desperate offensive drive of the enemy, are not losing faith in the Red Army's victory over the German fascist troops. If anything, this faith is gaining in strength.

At the same time, the Soviet people soberly estimate the strength of the perfidious enemy, his striving at all costs to push further eastward. In the big battles now in progress the enemy may still score partial successes. However, when considering the whole course and all the trends of war and the ultimate result of the present battles on the Soviet-German front, there is no doubt whatsoever that the war holds no perspectives for Hitlerite Germany.

The day is not distant when victory over the hated enemy will become the actual fact of our day, to the joy and happiness of the peoples of the whole world. In conditions when the enemy is losing hundreds of thousands of men and despite this is bent on pushing farther east, when Hitler is hurling the main mass of his troops and material into battle, when the decisive battles of this war are developing on the Soviet-German front, the question of the swift, skilful, full use of the possibility to destroy the enemy cannot but absorb the main attention of all active fighters against Hitlerism.

The Stalinist solution of this cardinal problem of the war era discloses a clear perspective of our victory over the enemy, as well as the practical ways and means for its realization, takes into account the decisive active role of millions of fighters against fascism in organizing the coming victory.

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THE CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS

BY WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN
California State Secretary, Communist Party

THE California primary elections on August 25 will mark an important preliminary test between the anti-fascist and the pro-defeatist forces in the state. The chief center of interest is the gubernatorial race, since this will set the tone for the whole campaign, including the fight for Congressional seats.

The war issues and tasks will be the dominating theme of the election campaign. California's huge aircraft, shipbuilding, oil and maritime industries give it an exceptionally important part in the national war effort. Its proximity to the Pacific battle zones, and the the fact that its coast has been shelled by an enemy submarine, serve to emphasize in the consciousness of the people that this election campaign is taking place in the midst of war against fascist barbarism. "Politics-as-usual" will have hard sledding in this election.

The Hoover Republicans know this. In searching for their gubernatorial candidate they sought to pick one who was not too closely associated with the malodorous Republican administrations of the past, and one who would at least make a pretense of supporting the war effort. The man they chose is State Attorney-General Earl Warren, who managed to win his present post in 1938, when the Olson ticket victory broke forty years of Republican rule in the California state administration.

Earl Warren has been groomed for many years as a Republican "liberal." This illusion has been so carefully nurtured that only recently a progressive characterized Warren as a "high-minded conservative Republican representing the best in that party." Warren's strategy in this election is to pose as a "nonpartisan" candidate stressing efficiency of administration, state and local issues, and steering carefully away from any discussion of the fundamental issues of the war. In announcing his candidacy, Warren said: "I believe in the party system and have been identified with the Republican Party in matters of party concern, but I have never found that the broad questions of national party policy have application in the problems of state and local government in California."

Thus, while men like Wendell

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Willkie have declared their intention of fighting to cleanse the Republican Party of the taint of appeasement and defeatism with which most of its leaders are infected, Warren seeks to evade all discussion of war issues in the Republican Party, and to dodge responsibility for the defeatist policies of the Hoovers, Landons and Tafts in the Republican leadership. Nevertheless, Earl Warren belongs to the Hoover wing of the Republican Party, the reactionary group that controls the party in California.

Warren's concealment of his defeatist views is unfortunately aided by the fact that his candidacy has been endorsed by *The Los Angeles Times* and *The San Francisco Chronicle,* Republican newspapers which generally support the war effort, but which for partisan political reasons were persuaded to give their support to Warren. But while the *Times'* and the *Chronicle's* endorsement does not prove that Warren supports the war, his endorsement by Hearst's newspapers in California certainly proves the opposite. Hearst would not back Warren if the latter were an all-out supporter of the war. Hearst supports Warren knowing full well that by concealing his real views behind clever demagogy Earl Warren is the most effective candidate of the appeasers and defeatists in California.

Warren, in keeping with the "non-partisan" myth, has filed not only in the Republican primaries for Governor, but has also cross-filed in the Democratic primaries, a procedure which is permitted by California laws. His "non-partisan" appeal consists of an appeal to the defeatists of both parties to rally behind his candidacy. He will meet an effective challenge in the Democratic primaries. But in the Republican Party no voice has yet been raised against the Hoover-Warren defeatist line. Thus, Earl Warren's candidacy has made the California Republican Party the chief instrument of the defeatists, the chief rallying ground for all who oppose our nation's war policies.

Warren's keynote speech before a Young Republican convention on June 6 attempted to disprove these charges. He gave lip-service to the war effort in vague generalities, even spoke of "national unity," but he dodged every one of the fundamental issues of the war by which candidates must be judged. The people of California do not yet know where Mr. Warren stands on the unity of the United Nations, on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement, on the opening of a second front; on national unity against the defeatists, particularly those in his own party; on the decisive role of labor in the war effort; on the President's vital seven-point economic program, and related questions. Warren cannot meet these questions except by evasion or demagogy.

His sole contribution to a war platform is that "an adequate home defense against fire, sabotage and invasion is of paramount importance." Thus, when the crying need of the hour is to take the offensive against Hitler, to open a second front in Europe, the Republican

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candidate echoes the defensive slogans of the defeatists. Hearst and the Scripps-Howard press on the West Coast have been conducting a persistent campaign to capitalize on every Japanese advance in the Pacific and against Alaska to spread defeatism and to argue against offensive action against Hitler in Europe. Senator Hiram Johnson gave the keynote for this defeatist line when he spoke in the Senate, shortly after Pearl Harbor, for "defense of our shores against invasion." Thus, against the growing demand of Labor and organizations of prominent Republican and Democratic citizens in support of a second front and of American-Soviet-British alliance, Warren issues the appeasers' demagogic slogan of "home defense against invasion." Furthermore, Warren gives himself away by keynoting his platform with the following: "We want and demand the type of government in California that puts America first and all other things second." It is not an accident that the language of Lindbergh and Hearst and the notorious "America First" Committee, so inimical to the interests of all Americans who really place the interests of the nation above all else, should find its way into the keynote address of Earl Warren.

Nevertheless, Warren makes a formidable and dangerous candidate, and has been conducting an aggressive campaign since May, while the labor and anti-fascist camp, absorbed in war work, has not yet been fully mobilized for the election campaign as an essential part of its war tasks. The chief problem of the win-the-war forces in California has been to bring about unity in its own ranks, eliminate all "business-as-usual," "politics-as-usual" attitudes in labor and anti-fascist circles, and take the offensive in the elections against the appeasers and defeatists, and those who aid them in any way.

The California delegation to Congress is in the majority made up of obstructionists and labor-baiters who are a menace to national unity and to the Government's war policies. It includes Congressmen like Leland Ford, one of the foremost defeatists and anti-Administration obstructionists, whose specialty is ranting against Harry Bridges and the labor movement; and Congressmen Buck and Gearhart, who are on the House Ways and Means Committee, which has been instrumental in blocking the President's seven-point economic program.

With but few exceptions, the rest of the California Congressmen are likewise obstructing the national war effort. These defeatists, the Leland Ford and Frank Buck camp, must be defeated at all costs. Far too little attention has been paid by the labor movement to their role in Congress, to exert mass pressure on them, or to expose their records to the people back home. This weakness is now making itself felt in the election campaign, and if any of the obstructionists survive the primaries, it will not be because the voters approve their policies, but because of the insufficient unity of the anti-Hitler forces, because the win-the-war forces have not taken

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their case to the people nor organized effective opposition to the incumbents.

But important as are the Congressional elections, the fight for the Governorship will be the chief center of attention. Governor Olson and his state administration are facing a serious challenge in the Republican ticket headed by Earl Warren. Factional disputes in the Democratic Party, and the prospect of splits in labor's ranks over candidates increased the danger that the anti-fascist forces would not be able to enter the election campaign with their full, united strength.

The most serious split was threatened around the candidacy of State Senator Robert W. Kenny for Governor. Kenny's consistently progressive record in the State Legislature attracted the support of C.I.O. unions and even some A.F.L. leaders, although the State Federation of Labor was committed to the re-election of Governor Olson. Senator Kenny, heading a state legislative committee on economic planning, made some notable contribuions to the war effort, especially in bringing about collaboration between labor and conservative business interests on matters of production and related questions.

There was considerable dissatisfaction, particularly in labor's ranks, over Governor Olson's lack of energetic leadership of the war effort, and his failure to consult and collaborate with labor on problems of civilian defense, production, and other war problems. Labor, especially the C.I.O., was given little or no representation in defense agencies. At a time when the C.I.O. in California was setting a magnificent example for all of labor in patriotic service and self-sacrifice in the interests of all-out war production, the Olson Administration was pursuing a policy of ignoring its role, and even permitted Red-baiting attacks against the C.I.O. leadership by Trotskyite elements who were playing their usual disruptive role in the Democratic Party and the labor movement.

Another disturbing factor was the tendency of the Olson Administration to play partisan politics with many important state issues, instead of giving real leadership to the people demanded by the war crisis. Hampered by an anti-Olson bloc of Republicans and Democratic obstructionists in the Legislature, the Olson Administration too often surrendered to these elements in an effort to appease them, but never made an effort to organize a patriotic bloc of legislators who were ready to rise above partisan differences to pass essential war legislation.

Kenny's candidacy, however, with the prospects of only C.I.O. support, would have played into the hands of the defeatists gathering around Earl Warren, and would have even strained the working relations that had been established since December 7 between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in the "Unity for Victory" Committee. While this committee was concerned mainly with production questions, it laid the basis for closer political collaboration on a broader scale, if there were agreement between the A. F. of L. and

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C.I.O. on the major candidates in the elections.

It was on the initiative of the C.I.O. leadership that such unity was finally established. A joint appeal by the heads of the A. F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods, and leaders of the Democratic Party persuaded Senator Kenny to withdraw from the gubernatorial race, and instead run for Attorney-General with united labor endorsement. The C.I.O., in endorsing Governor Olson for re-election, publicly called upon him to formulate a "Win-the-War" platform, to give adequate recognition to labor in defense agencies, to organize a state Labor Victory Board to spur the war effort, and to work for unity of labor, industry and agriculture in all essential war tasks.

The prospects are that united labor support will influence the whole tone of the election campaign in that direction, and will influence Governor Olson and the Democratic Party to show more energetic leadership in the war effort and in the fight against the defeatists. The C.I.O., in a state legislative conference on May 30 and 31, worked out a "Votes for Victory" program to involve the entire C.I.O. membership in the election campaign. The A. F. of L. likewise had held conferences throughout the state to mobilize membership support behind Olson. In most Congressional and legislative districts, there will be A. F. of L. - C.I.O. unity around candidates against the worst defeatists and anti-labor obstructionists now in office.

California labor will have another election battle thrust upon it, inherited from pre-war days. The "Hot Cargo" law which was passed last year by the Legislature, over Governor Olson's veto, goes to a referendum in the November elections. The law prohibits sympathetic strikes and secondary boycotts, but is inoperative pending the outcome of the referendum measure for its repeal. Thus labor, which has of its own accord refrained from any interruption of production in wartime, is forced once more to defend the principle of retaining its fundamental rights. But progressive labor leaders recognize that the campaign for repeal of the "Hot Cargo" law must not be allowed to divert attention away from the main war issues in the elections. There are tendencies in the labor movement to make this fight a "class against class" issue, which would play into the hands of the appeasers and be harmful to labor-management cooperation in war industries. Labor can win the repeal of the "Hot Cargo" law by popularizing labor's role in the war effort, by showing how any repressive anti-labor legislation would be harmful to national unity and an obstacle to labor's maximum contribution, as well as being contrary to national policy and American democratic principles. Even in conservative business circles the most patriotic elements recognize that the "Hot Cargo" law would be a disturbing irritant to war production. Only the most unscrupulous of the diehard reactionaries will play the defeatists' game and try to exploit the "Hot Cargo" issue to

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fan the flame of class differences. But it is not likely that they will succeed.

Labor and the Olson Administration have the vital task of more energetically fighting to abolish discrimination against the Negro people and involving them fully in the war effort. Much progress has already been made in that direction. As a result of labor's active fight, especially the C.I.O., the bars to Negro participation in war industry are being broken down. Hundreds of Negroes are for the first time being accepted to work in aircraft plants and shipyards, particularly in Southern California. In the San Francisco Bay area the fight against discriminatory practices by employers and by some A.F. of L. unions is being conducted by the San Francisco Bay Area Council Against Discrimination, which includes A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, judges and other prominent citizens, civic organizations and merchants' associations.

Negro organizations and leaders throughout the state, in the course of this fight, have come closer to the labor movement and show a growing consciousness of the fact that the fight for Negro rights is inseparably linked with supporting the war effort. In the course of the election campaign, the Negro people must learn to distinguish between defeatist elements who seek their votes demagogically to exploit the grievances of the Negro people, and the win-the-war forces who are fighting against discrimination because they are beginning to recognize that this is an essential prerequisite for victory in the war.

Thousands of women are increasingly being drawn into war industry, particularly in aircraft plants. For most of them, this is their first contact with industry, with trade unions, and with political activity. This creates new tasks for the labor movement, and especially during the election campaign it will require special attention to the role of women in the whole war effort, as well as involving them in active struggle against defeatist elements and candidates. The experiences of C.I.O. Women's Auxiliaries, as well as unions which have women as members, already indicates that the problem is not only one of educating the women to their exceptionally important role in the war, but also one of educating the men to recognize this fact. While the trade unions have made some progress in this direction, they are not yet fully conscious of their responsibility.

Labor and the Olson Administration also have the task of reaching the middle classes in this election campaign. The dislocations of war economy have created new problems for the small businessmen and for the farmers, problems which, if unsolved, will play into the hands of the appeasers, who would demagogically exploit the resultant discontent. These problems are becoming so acute that for the first time conservative elements in agriculture and industry have been willing to sit down with labor representatives, under the auspices of the State Legislative Committee on Economic Planning, headed by Sen-

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ator Kenny, to discuss these problems and attempt to solve them.

The farmers are confronted with the problem of a shortage of farm labor, due to the entry of large numbers of agricultural workers into war industries. Some of the big growers are carrying on alarmist propaganda in the newspapers that California is threatened with the loss of the bulk of its crops, and that labor is to blame. Those who are the loudest to claim that labor is unpatriotic are also the least willing to admit that their predicament is partly due to their record of paying starvation wages and imposing intolerable conditions on the agricultural workers, and brutal suppression of any attempts at trade union organization.

But while the Associated Farmers' claims of a labor shortage may be exaggerated, there is some reason for concern that there may not be enough farm labor to harvest the most important crops. Attempts to enlist volunteer labor from the cities and towns, and students during their vacation period, have not solved the problem. The trade unions, recognizing that the government's "Food for Victory" program is essential to the war effort, have offered to cooperate in solving the problem, but are themselves unable to furnish the men needed.

There is evidence to show, however, that there are sufficient farm workers in the state for the essential crops of fruits, vegetables and cotton, if a labor pool could be formed by Federal agencies such as the U. S. Employment Service, the Farm Security Administration, and state agricultural agencies, and if transportation could be arranged to bring them to areas where crops are ready to be picked. Transportation is one of the main bottlenecks, because of the rubber shortage and the prospects of gas rationing, and must become the collective responsibility of government agencies such as the Office of Defense Transportation and the California Railroad Commission, together with the farm employers and contractors who have their own transportation facilities. Furthermore, to guarantee that the farm-labor supply will remain stable, it is absolutely necessary to improve the conditions of the agricultural workers as to wages, adequate housing, and health protection. Unless adequate safeguards are established to guarantee decent working conditions, the "Food for Victory" program in agriculture is threatened. Labor and farm organizations have a responsibility to work out such a program, which offers a great opportunity for effective farmer-labor collaboration with far-reaching political implications for the coming elections and for strengthening national unity behind the war effort.

The Communist Party enters the coming election campaign with but one object in mind: to join with all other patriotic Americans in united all-out efforts behind our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, for the prosecution of the war to victory for our country and the United Nations; to rally support of the people behind the American-

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British-Soviet agreements and America's pledge to join with Britain in opening a Second Front in 1942; to elect Win-the-War candidates; and to press for the exposure and complete defeat of the appeaser and defeatist elements who are obstructing the war effort.

The California Supreme Court decision which declared unconstitutional the two laws designed to bar the party from the coming elections, and upholding American rights of free elections by upholding the party's right to a place on the California ballot, will strengthen national unity of all Americans so necessary to win the war. It is a victory for all democratic and anti-fascist forces in our country, in keeping with America's best traditions. The ruling is an answer to those fascist-minded people who use Hitler's anti-Communist propaganda and who falsely charge that the Communists advocate force and violence, which charges are designed to disrupt the unity of the nation and the forces of democracy in our country. It is also a rebuff and a lesson to those who echo these false charges against the Communists in an effort to appease the Fifth Column.

The Communist Party is entering candidates in the elections where it will not interfere with the unity of the Win-the-War forces, and in order to strengthen that unity. The party has no partisan interests in these elections. It will cooperate with all other pro-war forces, regardless of political affiliation.

Recognizing that the election campaign is taking place at a time when victory in the war must be the keynote of the nation, the Communist Party is doing its utmost to unite and mobilize the people behind the Government's war policies, behind the President's 7-point economic program, behind the Anglo-American-Soviet agreements, for the opening of a second front against Hitler in Europe, and for all-out war production to smash the Axis on all fronts.

The party takes its place as part of the great national front against Hitlerism, and will work during and after the election struggle under the slogan: "Everything for Unity and Victory over Hitlerism!"

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ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT

BY HANS BERGER

AUGUST 23 marks the third anniversary of the conclusion by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany of the Non-Aggression Pact which Hitler broke June 22 of last year by his treacherous attack. Has anyone, whether denouncer or denounced, forgotten the storm of infamous incitements launched against the Soviet Union for entering into this pact? Can anyone forget the lynch hysteria which was whipped up against the Communists of all countries, who defended the pact? Who does not remember the denunciations of the Soviet Union and the Communists of all countries as "Communazis," as traitors to democracy and socialism, as accomplices of fascism?

Who can forget that not only the professional and reactionary haters of the Soviet Union carried on their smear campaigns, but many honest and up to that time liberal persons lost their heads and lent their tongues and pens to the frenzied campaign of hate? How they lied and slandered! "Browder and Foster ready to hand over America to the Nazis"—"Thaelmann released from prison and accepted into Hitler's good graces"—"Thorez fleeing to Berlin to help Hitler strike France" —and so on ad nauseam. Indeed, the Communists in the non-fascist countries got a first-hand experience of the methods by which Hitler, Goering and Goebbels, after they set fire to the Reichstag, created the atmosphere for "the Night of the Long Knives."

Perhaps some will ask, "What's the use of bringing all this up, just when the agreements, of such tremendous historic importance, between the United States, England and the Soviet Union have been reached, when the wave of sympathy for the Soviet Union is growing greater and the very carefully built up structure of lies against the Soviet Union has collapsed?"

It seems to us that precisely the conclusion of these agreements, which *can* usher in a new era, is sufficient reason to recall this past to mind. For if these agreements are really to be the weapon for victory, the weapon for the organization of a better world, it is necessary to fight to the bitter end against the old enemies, the pro-fascists, the appeasers, the defeatists, the saboteurs of victory. Is it not a fact that almost immediately after the new agreements were announced a whole host of per-

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sons, who unfortunately still occupy positions of influence, have begun to direct their attacks against the second front and thereby are attempting to weaken and break the pacts and agreements? It is a fact that various circles wish to go back to the July and August weeks of 1939, resume their anti-Soviet intrigues by declaring that the "main point" of any treaty with the Soviet Union is that the Baltic countries shall be "independent states." There can be no doubt that powerful groups here and in England continue their efforts to sow distrust of our Soviet ally, to sabotage the fulfillment of the agreements, and that these groups would be ready at any time to repeat the game of the months before and after the signing of the Soviet - German Non - Aggression Pact.

Not to enter into useless discussions of the past, but to make it impossible that there shall ever be in the history of our country a repetition of such unfortunate relations with the Soviet Union, we point out again the meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact on its third anniversary: not, in petty fashion, to reproach honest fighters against fascism for past mistakes and misunderstandings, but to confirm the great mass feeling of sympathy with our mighty Soviet ally by a clearer understanding of its past policy, so that no reactionary storm can alter this cordiality.

To develop the agreements with the Soviet Union into *honest, lasting, unalterable friendship,* supported and defended by the overwhelming majority of our people, we must look back to that tragic time when we came within a hair's breadth of being driven into open hostility to that country to which we and all humanity owe such a tremendous debt.

Earl Browder is right a thousand times when he says that the agreements of our country and England with the Soviet Union "are no accident." How could it be an accident that in the most critical hour of our nation's existence the Soviet Union should stand at our side? It is no more accidental than the historic fact that Marx and Engels, whom Mr. Biddle views askance, but whose tremendous importance in the history of humanity's struggle for freedom no attorney general can deport, stood beside Lincoln in another critical hour of the American nation.

* * *

The world would not be in its present plight had the peoples and their governments accepted the principle, maintained stoutly and with infinite patience by the Soviet Union: "Peace is indivisible"—all nations must stand together to defend it, to halt any aggressors by giving unmistakable proof of the people's readiness. If the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and the small nations had made an international pact with the U.S.S.R. for the defense of peace and national integrity after the armed forces of Hitlerite Germany marched into the Rhineland, the present world war would

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have been prevented, or would be waged under decidedly more favorable conditions.

What frightful disaster would have been averted, had we done then what we are beginning to do now in the conflagration of war, under the pressure of the most frightful dangers to humanity, by coming to agreement with the Soviet Union! What horrible catastrophes would have been prevented, had people listened without prejudice to the proposals, warnings and advice of the Soviet Union's statesmen instead of blindly taking the word of its enemies!

If people had stopped in time viewing the Communists from the point of view of the narrow police mind and examined their arguments and proposals objectively, the nations and peoples would not be Axis victims today. If the parroting of nonsense about Communists as "Moscow agents" had ceased it would have been realized in time that the only "guilt" of the Communists consisted in their having learned, before others did, that the Soviet Union, thanks to its whole construction, is a true friend of the world peoples, a faithful ally in the struggle for peace, truth and progress. Had the Communists been heeded in time, it would have been understood in time, as it is understood today in ever broadening circles, that a foreign policy in the national interest can be conducted only on the basis of the most friendly and cooperative relations with the Soviet Union.

We Communists were not and are not "agents of Moscow," we were and are workers for the true interests of our nation. This was our role when we indefatigably exposed the campaign of lies and hate against our present great ally and strove with all our power to make the truth about it known when, regardless of all accusations and excitements we advised friendship for that great country and tried to explain its policy to the people.

In view of the present experiences with the Soviet Union in the most critical hour of our nation, who now dares to stand up and say the Communists were wrong? In view of the heroic fight of the Soviet Union not only for its own but for our existence and that of all nations, who dares to claim that we Communists have acted anti-nationally in having since 1917 recognized the Soviet Union as the great friend of our great nation, and in having pointed out that the greatest traditions of our own American people come from the same great ideals which inspire the policy of the Soviet Union?

* * *

The signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on August 23, 1939, was the result of the systematic sabotage of the peace policy of the Soviet Union by the English and French governments of that time. The Soviet Union met with no success in its steadfast efforts to reach agreements with these governments, with the Chamberlains and Bonnets, for the defense of peace, the independence of the nations.

The governments of France and

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England of that time did not want to defend peace nor the independence of the nations. Their policy handed the nations over to Hitler and helped the Axis to throttle them. Their policy was aimed, not at defending peace, but at unleashing the war drive of Hitler Germany and Japanese militarism at the Soviet Union. Their policy strengthened, not the forces of progress and freedom, but those of reaction, fascism and imperialist barbarism. Their policy was the old imperialist game seeking to save themselves at the expense of others. The past English governments saw the chief enemy, not in Hitler Germany, but, true to the tradition of the most reactionary English circles, in the Soviet Union.

No one can deny that, contrary to the warnings of the Soviet Union and the advanced workers of all countries, the governments of the United States, England and France did not raise a finger when the Japanese began the war against China, and the second world war, by invading Manchuria. Not China, but the Japanese imperialists, got all support. And how many imperialists wished the Japanese troops the best of success on their forays in the hope that they would attack the Soviet Union, bring "order" to China, and then come to an understanding with the imperialists of the other countries over the division of the spoils!

No one can deny that the Soviet Union vainly proposed a complete blockade against Mussolini when he attacked Ethiopia. But the English and French governments, like our oil magnates, preferred to come to terms with Mussolini, "the noble dictator."

No one can deny that the Soviet Union proposed concerted action by all nations against the German-Italian intervention against the glorious Spanish Republic. The Soviet Union was isolated. The English and French reactionaries, by their "non-intervention policy," contributed to the victory of Hitler's and Mussolini's intervention over the Spanish Republic.

No one can deny that the English and French governments of that time handed Austria over to fascism.

No one can deny that the English and French governments of that time delivered Czechoslovakia to Hitler at Munich and tried, in the most treacherous way, to isolate the Soviet Union. Those governments helped Hitler to organize the Lidice regime over Czechoslovakia.

This policy of handing over the nations to fascism, of strengthening the fascist aggressors and their allies, was accompanied by a barrage of lies against the Soviet Union. The Red Army was "no good"—any Polish, French or English non-commissioned officer was better than the Red generals—Stalin was a "dictator," hated by the peoples of the Soviet Union, who wanted to "revolt" and make themselves "independent"—the final proof of the "insanity" of the Soviet regime was the shooting of the Soviet Quislings, Pétains, Lavals and Lindberghs, *in time*.

The pro-fascist circles of the French and English imperialists

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thought they could play this kind of game with the Soviet government, a government of 180,000,000 free people: "We deal with Hitler and with the Axis; we try to come to an understanding with them at the expense of the interests of other nations; we shall make any treaties with Hitler and Company that we think useful. Should such an understanding with Hitler and the Axis about an imperialist redivision of the world not work out, or take an unfavorable turn, we will whistle and the Soviet Union will jump over the stick which we hold, into war, and fetch our chestnuts out of the fire. In a war between Germany and the Soviet Union we have always the possibility of coming to an understanding with Hitler, *à la* Munich, when both sides have weakened themselves enough."

* * *

In spite of this policy, through which the leaders of the Soviet Union saw very clearly, the Soviet Union tried, to the last moment, with incredible patience, to organize a bloc of the nations to defend peace. Three days after Hitler marched into Prague, March 18, 1939, the U.S.S.R. proposed to the British Ambassador a conference among England, France, the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania and Turkey, to discuss common measures against new aggressions by Hitler.

But the English government of that time refused, on the grounds that the proposal was "premature." On March 23, Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons "that the British Government was not anxious to set up in Europe opposing blocs of countries with different ideas about the forms of the internal administrations." The organization of a bloc against the fascist aggressors would, according to Chamberlain, "inevitably plunge Europe into war." Hitler, however, developed his "different ideas about the forms of internal administrations" by occupying Memel and beginning to threaten Danzig, while Mussolini grabbed Albania. Chamberlain then resorted to the maneuver of giving Poland and Rumania guarantees of support and demanding that the Soviet Union do the same.

Such a proposal from Chamberlain was the sheerest provocation. Guarantees for Poland and Rumania would naturally have meant to the Soviet Union something quite different from what they meant to Chamberlain. They would have meant that the Soviet Union would have to bear the brunt of the war against Hitler Germany, and that it would have been in Chamberlain's power *to unleash this war without incurring the slightest obligation toward the Soviet Union.*

This action of Chamberlain in "guaranteeing" assistance and demanding that the Soviet Union make similar guarantees was nothing but a crude attempt to inveigle the Soviet Union into war against Germany and to keep his own Munich-smirched hands free to deal with Hitler in the course of such a war. Poland and Rumania were not nations which Chamberlain seriously wanted to defend, they were merely pawns in the game of the

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Munichmen of England and France with Hitler.

The Soviet government made the following counter-proposals: (1) a mutual assistance pact between France, England and the Soviet Union; (2) a military alliance on the basis of this pact; (3) a pact guaranteeing all the border countries from the Black Sea to the Baltic. After long, systematic vacillations on the part of the English government, while its representatives were dealing with Hitler, the English and French governments of that time finally consented to discuss such a pact. But they engaged in these discussions in the spirit of betraying the Soviet Union and leaving a door open for an understanding with Hitler. Molotov spoke very plainly about this in the session of the Supreme Soviet on August 31, 1939, when he said:

"It should be noted that in some of the British and French proposals this elementary principle [of reciprocity and equality of obligations] did not meet with favor. While guaranteeing themselves from direct attack on the part of aggressors by mutual assistance pacts between themselves and Poland, and while trying to secure for themselves the assistance of the U.S.S.R. in the event of attack by aggressors on Poland and Rumania, the British and French left open the question whether the U.S.S.R. in its turn might count on their assistance in the event of it being directly attacked by aggressors, just as they left open another question, namely, whether they could participate in guaranteeing the small states bordering on the U.S.S.R. and covering its northwestern frontiers, should these states prove unable to defend their neutrality from attack by aggressors." (*The Soviet Union and the Peace Front*, International Publishers, p. 9.)

The unwillingness of the English and French governments of that time to make a pact with the Soviet Union on the basis of complete reciprocity and mutual obligations was manifested even more crassly in the negotiations with the Anglo-French military commission which was sent to Moscow after long delay. The representatives of the Soviet Union demanded of this commission, as the condition for a military pact, the right to send their troops across Polish territory. The Soviet representatives pointed out that it would be impossible to defend Poland if the Red Army could not bar the path to invading Hitler armies on Polish soil. It would be impossible for the Soviet Union to wait until Poland was overrun and the German armies had arrived within Soviet jurisdiction—it would be too late to save Poland.

The fascist Polish government of that time refused this stipulation of the Soviet Union, and the English and French governments made not the slightest attempt to persuade the Polish government to accede to what was such an obvious necessity. *The acceptance of this condition would have furnished the only possibility of defending the Polish nation by common struggle of the Polish army and the Red Army at the German-Polish border.* The refusal of this demand showed the representatives of the Soviet Union

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clearly and plainly that the English and French governments of that time were not concerned with defending Poland, but with starting a war between Germany and the Soviet Union, which the French and English armies would watch as spectators, safe behind the Maginot Line.

Molotov, in the previously mentioned session of the Supreme Soviet, pointed out just as plainly and clearly the reasons for this situation:

"What is the root of these contradictions in the position of Great Britain and France? In a few words, it can be put as follows: On the one hand, the British and French governments fear aggression, and for that reason they would like to have a pact of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union provided it helped strengthen them, Great Britain and France.

"But, on the other hand, the British and French governments are afraid that the conclusion of a real pact of mutual assistance with the U.S.S.R. may strengthen our country, the Soviet Union, which, it appears, does not answer their purpose. It must be admitted that these fears of theirs outweighed other considerations. Only in this way can we understand the position of Poland, who acts on the instructions of Great Britain and France." (*The Meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact*, Workers Library Publishers, p. 6.)

The months-long negotiations with the English and French governments of that time made it clear that there was no possibility of making with them an honest assistance pact based on reciprocity. The reactionary imperialist policy of the French and English anti-Soviet circles triumphed over the national interests of their countries. The Soviet Union, therefore, could no longer expect in this situation that peace could be preserved by means of collective security. On one side was aggressive German fascism, on the other were the reactionary English, French and Polish governments, hostile to the Soviets, ready at any time to come to terms with Hitler at the expense of the Soviet Union and the other countries, ready at any time to betray the Soviet Union as at Munich, eager to let the Soviet Union bleed for them but unwilling to lift a finger seriously for the Soviet Union.

In this situation the Soviet Union concluded the Non-Aggression Pact with Hitler Germany. This pact was not an alliance against any other power, it was no Munich, no capitulation, no sacrifice of national interests of the Soviet Union or any other country. It enabled the Soviet Union to keep out of the incipient battle of the imperialist groups, to frustrate the game of the imperialist intriguers, to strengthen its armaments at the quickest tempo, to improve its general strategic positions and so keep itself in readiness for the day when, in spite of all efforts to maintain peace, the war would break out.

All subsequent developments prove how correctly the Soviet Union acted then. The brave Polish people, betrayed by their fascist government, quickly fell prey to the

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Hitler army. The English and French governments of that time did not lift a finger for that country, whose security they had guaranteed and whose refusal of aid by the Red Army they had encouraged. They still hoped that the collapse of the Polish government and the Polish army would bring the Hitler army to the borders of the Soviet Union and that in this way war would break out between Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union without their having to do any of the fighting. The U.S.S.R. balked this plan when, after the collapse of the Polish government and army, it occupied the province of Eastern Poland, inhabited chiefly by Ukrainians, White Russians and Jews, and liberated the inhabitants from the oppression of the fascist Polish government, at the same time saving them from falling under the yoke of the Hitler regime. The Soviet Union further strengthened its positions against the Hitler imperialists by its mutual assistance pacts with the Baltic countries, which then, by democratic plebiscites, voluntarily joined the free family of independent and liberated nations, united in the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet-Finnish war showed in all clarity how strongly the English and French governments of that time hoped to turn their war against Hitler Germany into a common war *with* Hitler *against* the Soviet Union. The English and French, as well as the German, reactionaries backed up the Finnish government in its anti-Soviet hostility and opposition to come to terms with the Soviet Union. They encouraged the Finnish fascists in in the most aggressive way to refuse every proposal of the Soviet Union, which wished in time to prevent Finland from becoming, with the aid of the reactionary Mannerheim clique, the spearhead of German imperialism's assault against Leningrad and the North of the Soviet Union.

If the governments of England and France of that time had really wished to weaken and stop Hitler Germany, they should have exerted all their influence on the Finnish government to come to peaceful terms with the Soviet Union. But they did the opposite and encouraged the reactionary Mannerheim clique in open provocations against the Soviet Union. The result was the Soviet-Finnish war, in which the English and French governments of that time showed their true, reactionary, anti-Soviet faces.

The Daladiers and Chamberlains openly accused Hitler of betraying —civilization!—by not coming to Finland's aid. They more or less plainly told him to go to war against the Soviet Union. They sent guns, planes, cannon to Finland. They prepared English and French troop transports for Finland and attacks from Syria against the Soviet Union.

And who can forget the tremendous campaign organized in our country by the Hoovers and Dieses for the reactionary Mannerheim clique which was doing Hitler's work? These adventurers came within a hair's breadth of succeeding in helping hurl English and French troops against the Red Ar-

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mies. Fortunately for the whole later development this disaster did not come to pass. And the Communists in all countries can be proud that they stood staunchly against the tide in this time of criminal folly and exposed the mad game.

Then, very quickly, the adventurer policy of the English and French governments of that time collapsed. The Belgian king betrayed the French government, and the French government betrayed England, as they all had betrayed Poland and Czechoslovakia. The political, military and moral bankruptcy of the reactionary imperialist speculators revealed itself in frightful crassness when those who had just been planning war against the Soviet Union collapsed in unprecedented helplessness under the blows of the Nazi armies. But the peoples who had let these reactionary adventurers lead them had to pay the same terrible price as the unfortunate Polish people.

The government of the Soviet Union, thanks to its Stalinist policy, was not drawn into this collapse and this reciprocal betrayal. It had utilized the time to prepare itself for the collision with predatory German imperialism and strategically to improve its positions considerably. It had proved to its own people that when war came, when the terrible sacrifice of millions of men must be made, it was not to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for any imperialist reactionary cliques, but to defend freedom. It had also shown the German people that the Soviet Union has no hostile motives toward Germany, and that Hitler and the Hitlerites bear the guilt for the murder of millions of Germans.

The mighty military and moral force of the Soviet Union was the chief barrier against the Hitler dictatorship now triumphant over virtually all of Europe. The Hitler regime knew there would be no dominating Europe and the world without defeating this mighty power. The Hitler regime knew that the Soviet Union *does* want peace but will never join with any imperialists in an imperialist redivision of the world nor make any concessions to them, as the Daladiers and Chamberlains did at Munich. The Hitler regime knew that so long as the Soviet Union stood in its might there could be no thought of conquering Britain and from there, in combination with Japan, launching the attack on America. The Hitler regime knew that all oppressed peoples, and especially the working class in all the countries oppressed by Hitler, would not cease fighting against Hitler so long as the hope of all the oppressed, of all freedom-loving peoples, the mighty Soviet Union, stood firm.

And so Hitler decided to break the Non-Aggression Pact which he had made with the Soviet Union, and on June 22, 1941, treacherously attacked the Soviet Union. But he overlooked not only the vast strength, the moral force and the unity of the Soviet peoples; he also overlooked a very important change that had taken place in the world. The peoples had learned a great lesson from their experiences with their pro-fascist and bankrupt lead-

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ers and intriguing anti-Soviet imperialist circles. They had felt the lash of the Hitler regime. Hitler's hope of turning back the wheel of history and repeating the game of Munich, dividing the peoples and setting them against one another again, by war against the Soviet Union, failed for that reason.

What should have been done in 1935, what was not done in August, 1939, because of the policy of the reactionary English and French governments of that time, was finally carried out: the formation of the alliance of all countries attacked and subjugated by Hitlerite Germany. The United Nations, headed by the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Britain, have the power to defeat Hitler and the Axis and to build a better world, provided that the peoples never forget the lessons of the months before the outbreak of the war. These lessons are: Toleration of enmity to the Soviet Union, non-collaboration with it and betrayal of it lead to catastrophe and national ruination. Policies of trust in and cooperation with the Soviet Union win for all liberty-loving peoples a true, staunch and mighty ally, and advance the national interests and security of all peoples.

The American-Soviet Agreement is history's confirmation of the natural and historic ties that unite and must continue to unite the world's two greatest democratic powers, together with Great Britain as the leading countries of the United Nations in this greatest of all wars, for the smashing of Hitlerism and the Axis, and for ensuring friendly collaboration and the people's advance in the post-war period.

No quarter to the enemies of America's nationhood who aim subtly or overtly to disrupt the vital friendship of our country with our great ally the Soviet Union! No quarter to the American Munichists and Vichymen who are working insidiously to turn our country into a slave-colony of Hitlerism!

The past summons the present: No passivity, no vacillation before the Nazi threat to our nation's existence, to our very lives, individually, as American men and women! No passivity, no vacillation before the attacks of Hitler's fifth column on the American-Soviet-British Alliance!

The American people, all honest patriots fighting for national independence and freedom must translate the lessons of the recent years into the most united and active mass support of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Pact, especially for realizing the agreement for the opening of a second European land front *now*, for victory over the Hitlerite Axis. This is the urgent need of the hour—for America, for the Soviet Union, for Britain, for China, for the world peoples and world democracy. Let us now—without further delay—meet that need!

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FOR FARMER-LABOR UNITY IN THE ELECTIONS AND IN THE FOOD-FOR-VICTORY CAMPAIGN

BY ROBERT DIGBY

Defeatists Seek to Win Farm Vote—Masquerade as "Farm" Bloc

THE farm vote will be of crucial importance in helping determine the results of many major contests in the forthcoming election campaigns. Defeatist Congressmen are trying hard to win farm support; whenever they embark on some new maneuver to disrupt national unity, they usually claim to be acting in the best interest of the farmers.

The self-styled "farm" bloc in Congress has reduced this divisive maneuver to a fine art. It has continued to launch the most unscrupulous and shameful attacks against labor, against the Administration, and against the war effort, while hypocritically claiming to be speaking for the farmers. Actually the "farm" bloc represents a shifting coalition of obstructionist forces, including the Southern cotton planters and poll-taxers, the "economy" group led by Senator Byrd, anti-labor Congressmen, and defeatists. At no time has the "farm" bloc ever come forward with any positive program for aiding the farmers and helping them to participate in the Food-for-Victory program.

In recent years, labor has been slow and hesitant about approaching farm groups. Its own problems have always seemed more immediate and more pressing, while farm problems appeared strange and sometimes even forbidding. It is no exaggeration to say that frequently most of the overtures for farmer-labor cooperation have come from the farmers, who are looking to labor for support and leadership, not only against the anti-labor policies of the bogus "farm" bloc, but also against bureaucratic leaders in the old-line farm organizations.

Labor has not yet sufficiently appreciated the importance of working with these democratic farm groups and of giving them special consideration. It has not realized that these farm groups, usually small in comparison with labor unions, have an importance far greater than their actual membership might seem to indicate. Such farm groups reflect a growing "grass roots" sentiment, which has long been fighting for expression and which, now more than ever, is essential for the welding of national unity.

Agriculture stands out as the

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weakest sector on the war front, even though the American farmers have a deep-seated hatred for Hitlerism and a strong determination to see the Axis crushed. This current lag is due to many causes, the chief of which is the slowness of the war program to mobilize farm production. Thus, a recent survey made by the U. S. Department of Agriculture found that nearly half of the farmers knew little or nothing about the Food-for-Victory program and that few farmers considered themselves an integral part of the general war program.

The farmers are willing and even anxious to produce as much as they can, but they have seen efforts to increase farm production sabotaged by the "farm" bloc and other champions of reduction-as-usual. The lag on the farm scene is further accentuated by the unrepresentative character of the leadership at the helm of many of the old-line farm organizations and by the absence of strong farmer-labor ties. Weaknesses such as these brought a swarm of defeatists to the countryside in search of easy prey—Father Coughlin, Gerald K. Smith, John L. Lewis and a host of lesser lights.

Now influential sections of the labor movement are beginning to recognize that labor can no longer ignore farm problems and that it must actively concern itself with *all* questions bearing upon the outcome of the war. Both the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. have taken official action condemning Lewis' drive among the dairy farmers; but surely the matter cannot be allowed to rest here. Even though Lewis has not been able to win mass farm support, his move is a menace to national unity; it gives the Free Farmers, Inc., the new adaptation of Associated Farmers, an excuse for setting up anti-labor vigilante groups. Labor should provide concrete support to patriotic farm groups and help them in the fight against all of the various defeatists, and it must also provide positive support to the farmers in their effort to meet the many problems arising out of the war production program.

Farmer-labor unity is essential to national unity, and national unity is essential to victory. By cooperating with farmers in every possible way to ensure the success of the Food-for-Victory program and to overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of full farm production, labor can most speedily establish united action with the farmers and rout their common enemies in Congress and on the whole national scene, who are also enemies of the entire nation.

Labor's Support of the F.S.A.—An Example of Growing National Unity

For the first time since the days of Populism, organized labor recently came forward and took a stand on an important farm issue; this significant step was taken despite the fact that farm organizations were themselves divided. The C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Railway Labor Executives Association expressed their solid support for the Farm Security Administration, an agency which President Roosevelt has declared

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essential to the success of the Food-for-Victory program. They sent a joint letter to the White House which was signed by labor's representatives, together with those of the National Farmers Union, the Ohio Farm Bureau, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. This significant action indicates the growing political maturity of the American labor movement and the growing unity of the American people. President Roosevelt commented on the high degree of unity exemplified by the joint letter:

"The seven signatures on this joint appeal spell a new understanding and a new unity, born of war, among farmers, all three national labor organizations, and two great religious groups of men and women. . . . Our fighting men need this kind of unity in support of them. As their Commander-in-chief, I welcome it."

The attack on the F.S.A. was engineered by the Chamber of Commerce through the so-called Citizens Emergency Committee, the Byrd Committee and the national office of the Farm Bureau. Working with the spurious "farm" bloc, this group sought to cripple the F.S.A. and thereby prevent smaller farmers from securing the concrete assistance needed to expand their production and to participate effectively in the Food-for-Victory program. This bloc had used a farm disguise for its attacks on labor, the C.C.C., N.Y.A., T.V.A. and for its other numerous defeatist moves. But in attacking the F.S.A., the tenant purchase program, and the release of surplus wheat, it clearly proved that it is not only *anti-labor* but also *anti-farmer* and *anti-war*.

The House "farm" bloc sought to paralyze the F.S.A. by refusing to give it an adequate appropriation and by slashing its funds available for administrative expenses. Though the Department of Agriculture pointed out that now a major increase in farm production must be secured from the smaller farms and that Federal aid was necessary to make this possible, the obstreperous "farm" bloc replied by maliciously accusing the F.S.A. of poll-tax frauds, and, when this charge backfired, it resorted to the usual bogey of "Communism."

The "farm" bloc attempted to freeze government-controlled stocks of wheat and prevent the release of these stocks below parity (the 1909-14 relationship between farm and other prices), although a two-year wheat supply is now piling up and the release of these stocks for feeding purposes is urgently needed to stimulate the production of milk, livestock, eggs and other vital war foods. Wheat farmers cannot ship a major part of this year's crop to market; they find that elevators are already overcrowded; and they are having difficulty getting materials to build storage bins on their farms. They are anxious to see wheat move into war uses as quickly as possible. They know that it can be used for feeding purposes or made into industrial alcohol and synthetic rubber—and only recently they read the Soviet Union's request for "wheat, fats and sugar."

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As a result of the pressure from farmers, labor, and the Administration, the Senate "farm" bloc was split wide open and the Senate voted to amend the House version of the Agricultural Appropriations Bill by increasing F.S.A. funds and releasing 125,000,000 bushels of wheat for feeding purposes. Representatives of the Southern planter interests, like Senators Bankhead, Ellender and Russell, suddenly decided to withdraw their support from Senators Gillette, Bulow, Brooks and Capper on the freezing of wheat. Since Senators Bankhead and Russell had themselves introduced the wheat-freezing bill at the request of the Farm Bureau's national office, other members of the "farm" bloc denounced their action as rank treachery, and Senator Bankhead made a speech on the Senate floor trying to patch up the rift and to prevent the bloc from being permanently split. "We are keenly disappointed," Ed O'Neal, president of the Farm Bureau, wrote to every member of the Senate after the vote upholding the Administration's program. Despite the rising popular protest, chronic obstructionists like "Cotton Ed" Smith, George, Bilbo, and Thomas of Oklahoma continued their opposition to the release of wheat and claimed that such a move would endanger the whole parity principle, even though it was shown that the farmers would receive full parity for the wheat irrespective of the price at which the government released it for feed.

The recalcitrant "farm" bloc repeatedly refused to accept the Senate version of the Agricultural Appropriations Bill. Under the leadership of Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri, who was a member of the nefarious Byrd Committee, it threw the measure into a deadlock and continue to defy the collective voices of the farmers, labor, and the Administration. The Department of Agriculture was left without funds for a week, while the House "farm" bloc haggled over the terms of a continuing resolution so that the Department might continue to function.

As this is being written, the House bloc has delayed action on the 1943 Appropriations bill for more than a month by its deadlock. It arrogantly dismissed the President's contention that the F.S.A. is essential to the Food-for-Victory program and, without bothering about proof, insisted that the agency is "non-essential." It ignored the plight of the wheat farmers who have no room to store this year's crop and even argued against the need for increasing farm production in reply to those who urged the release of wheat to stimulate the production of vital foods. President Roosevelt warned that he would veto the House version of the Appropriations bill if it came across his desk, and Secretary Wickard made this significant announcement of official policy in a recent speech upholding the F.S.A.:

"From now on we will have to rely more and more on the farms that use family labor. I believe that small farms now are our most promising field for increase in food production."

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The "Farm" Bloc Stands in the Way of a Victory Congress

Even under the stress of war, these "farm" bloc Congressmen have continued their game of politics-as-usual. They have shown that they will not listen to the American people, and now the people must show by their votes that they will no longer listen to these defeatists. This recent fight has thoroughly exposed the "farm" bloc and stripped away its "farm" masquerade. Even Mr. Cannon seemed to find it somewhat difficult to explain why a "farm" bloc should be opposing the F.S.A., migratory labor camps, and tenancy aid; hence, Mr. Cannon, who supported the Smith bill and other anti-labor measures, recently announced to the House that he had become a member of a "labor" bloc.

His fight against the farmers won the hearty support of labor-haters like Cox of Georgia, who ranted against increased farm production, while Ed O'Neal, the Farm Bureau president, smiled down from the gallery. Also aiding the diversionists were Representatives Plumley (Vermont), Lambertson (Kansas), August H. Andersen (Minnesota), Smith (Virginia), and Dirksen (Illinois).

The only farm support secured by this "bloc" has come from certain circles of the big farmers, chiefly from the Southern planters, who desire to keep the small farmers "underemployed" and thus available as a source of cheap, part-time labor. The planters sought to torpedo the migratory labor camps because they were afraid that these camps would attract surplus labor from the South to better-paying, deficit areas in other sections.

In order to bludgeon the nation into accepting its demands, the House "farm" bloc not only tied up all farm appropriations, but wielded its axes on the Office of Price Administration and succeeded in cutting Leon Henderson's appropriation in half. This act of sabotage was taken in order to prevent the O.P.A. from effectively administering the Price Control Act and to force inflation on the country. Senator Thomas (Oklahoma), who has been leading the campaign to inflate prices, recently declared, "Complaints are general that this price control law is being disregarded. . . ." By withholding funds from the O.P.A., Senator Thomas and other members of the "farm" bloc are trying to make certain that price control *is disregarded.*

Representative Clarence Cannon, chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, and leader of the House "farm" bloc, played a leading role in slashing the O.P.A.'s budget. In attempting to scuttle the O.P.A., members of the "farm" bloc boldly admitted that they were trying to compel the Government to adopt the flat policy of "no wage increases." These Congressmen show little concern with the importance to the national war effort, including the farmers, of establishing effective price control: *they show little concern with winning the war.*

It is high time for the American people to eliminate the self-styled

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"economy" forces whose opposition to price control will cost the people many millions of dollars. Members of the Byrd "Economy" Committee which included Byrd, Cannon, Doughton, George, Nye, Glass, McKellar, Woodrum, Treadway, Cullen and Taber, have repeatedly hidden under "economy" or "farm" banners, while launching their attacks against farm, labor and youth programs or fighting against the Treasury's tax program or price control. The members of this hatchet crew have been ably assisted on many occasions by Senators Wheeler, Russell, Thomas (Oklahoma), and Reynolds. These men have no place in a win-the-war Congress.

Broadening Farmer-Labor Relations

The people's forces for victory must broaden and unify their ranks to *defeat the defeatists*. By supporting the farmers' struggle on behalf of the F.S.A., labor took an important step in this direction; it recognized that the need to expand farm production is part of the general war program. This example of farmer-labor unity points the way to victory in the November elections; it has exposed the defeatists in Congress as the common enemies of the farmers, the workers and the nation. The way is now open for joint farmer-labor cooperation on other important issues: the tax program, which is being sabotaged by the House Ways and Means Committee; price control, which has been seriously menaced by the attacks of the "farm" bloc; the farm labor shortage, which is a serious problem in many parts of the country; and all matters affecting full, all-out production, whether on the farms or in industry.

Farmer-labor committees can be set up on a national, state and local basis. A few local farmer-labor committees have already been formed in New York State, and steps have been taken for the formation of a statewide committee. Such committees can facilitate joint action on common issues, promote mutual understanding, and advance the tempo of the war effort. Joint action can help to erase the epitaph "too little and too late" and can help elect a Victory Congress in November.

The Need for Increased Farm Production Now Being Recognized

When the food goals were first set up by the government, nearly a year ago, the general fear was expressed by A.A.A. and Farm Bureau officials that overproduction was a greater danger than underproduction. They hesitated to reverse the engines of reduction lest there be greater "surpluses" and lest the small farmers regain a larger share of the commercial markets, out of which they have been pushed further and further over a period of many years. The first food goals called for an increase of only 3 per cent above the 1941 output, which was a year of high production. After Pearl Harbor, however, a revision was made bringing the increase to 5.3 per cent above 1941, or 19 per

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cent above the annual average in the period 1935-1939. Particular foods have been revised and increased three or four times since the original estimates were made.

But modern warfare requires tremendous supplies. Armies must be well fed. Civilians doing heavy war work must have better diets than in peace time. Large shipments of food have been made to England and some have been sent to other peoples of the United Nations, and this phase of the Lend-Lease program must be rapidly expanded. Moreover, farm products must be increasingly relied upon to pinch-hit for other raw materials in a multitude of industrial war uses.

In urging the fullest mobilization of farm products to achieve the farm goals and assure ample farm supplies, the Communist Party correctly pointed out at the very beginning of the Food-for-Victory drive that huge needs would develop in the course of the war and that the announced food goals, even though calling for the largest output of farmstuffs on record, would soon prove inadequate. It was for this reason that our party urged a sharp break with the previous enervating policy of reduction and the adoption of measures providing the farmers with concrete, needed assistance so that the maximum war output might be achieved.

Secretary Wickard stated in his speech (May 21) before the Associated Grocery Manufacturers in New York City at the time that Donald Nelson announced a new War Food Requirements Committee:

"A year ago it seemed certain that we could meet all foreseeable lend-lease needs and have plenty of all kinds of food for all other uses, and even some to spare. Of course it looked as if farmers would have to produce more of some things, and processors handle more. But generally speaking, it seemed that the normal methods of producing, processing, and distributing food could go on as usual.

"That is not true any longer. Already we are actually sending our Allies a lot more food than we thought we would a year ago, and we will send them even more as soon as more ships are available."

Although the food goals are by no means beyond the reach of our farm capacity, it already appears from the returns on early plantings that the output of various crops is likely to fall below the quotas set forth. This is particularly true of milk, tomatoes, peas, peanuts, flax, long staple cotton and other products. To made up for such shortages later planting areas will be required to step up their production even further. And to make this possible, the government must do more to make the farmers familiar with its food program, to open participation to all groups, thereby weakening the control of the reduction-as-usual forces, and to provide the positive aid needed by farmers so that they may increase production and shift to the crops most essential for war uses.

At the outset of the war, the big farmers, like some representatives of Big Business, resisted proposals to expand acreage or to shift production. Since they were in control of A.A.A., which was given central

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jurisdiction over the war food program, they commonly exhorted farmers against extending production and kept insisting that such a policy would lead to post-war chaos. Even after Pearl Harbor, Ed O'Neal took as the key text for his speeches that we should "prepare for peace in the days of war."

A step in the right direction was recently announced by the Department of Agriculture at its meeting of State A.A.A. chairmen held in Chicago on May 18 to consider proposed changes in policy. Mr. Fred S. Wallace, chief of the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, urged the adoption of a plan for incentive payments to stimulate the output of vital farm products, and it is reported that the plan may soon be put into effect, thus completely eliminating the reduction payment plan.

Last August, President Roosevelt had declared, "The time has come to reward abundance," and he urged that action be taken to assure the farmers against post-war price collapses, such as followed the first World War; but these suggestions had remained on paper because of a general fear that they might cause "surpluses."

The adoption of a vigorous abundance program would do much to convince farmers that the government requires larger supplies of farm products and to banish the advocates of reduction-as-usual, who have become so attached to the "surplus" bogey and so convinced that these "surpluses" could never be used up that they now object to seeing the "surpluses" used even for such a crucial objective as winning the war. Such a program would aid farm production, encourage the output of items most needed, and bring the farmers into much closer contact with the nation's entire war effort. Labor should certainly give support to such a program, not only as an aid to the war, but also as an effective safeguard for offsetting inflation and assuring fair prices and, especially important, for helping weld national unity.

Through action on this and other matters, labor can do much to dispel the attitude that has been created in recent months where certain consumer groups have been misled into blaming the farmers for the rising cost of living and frequently looking upon farmers simply as greedy war profiteers. It must be remembered that farmers still feel the scars resulting from twenty years of depressed farm prices; and since farm prices in June were actually only 99 per cent of parity, they do not share the view that farm prices are the dangerous factor likely to kite our economy skyward. Some of the misguided attacks made on farm prices by consumer and labor groups in recent times only supply fuel for the arguments of the "farm" bloc spokesmen who pretend to be the true champions of an honest parity and really fair farm prices but who are actually responsible for creating the totally false impression that farmers are seeking unduly high prices.

Like the rest of the population, farmers are deeply interested in warding off inflation and preventing any cancerous price developments in

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any sector of the economy. They therefore support the President's attempts to control prices, and their chief concern, despite the speeches of the "farm" bloc opposing the Administration's seven-point economic program, is to see that the program is enacted and that stabilization is continued after the war, so that farm prices do not toboggan downward while other prices and debts remain at high levels, as occurred in the period after 1920.

Though the President urged for the farmers "assurances of protection after the emergency has passed," the "farm" bloc has preferred to ignore this important concern of the farmers, while it, for example, trumped up a specious fight over 110 versus 100 per cent of parity—with farm prices actually at 99 per cent of parity. And, now, the "farm" bloc is pointing to every increase in price ceilings by the O.P.A. as an excuse for lifting the lid altogether.

The Role of the Farm Organizations in the War

Labor's approach to the farmers is made more difficult, but not impossible, by the bureaucratic national regimes at the helm of the Farm Bureau, Grange and National Council of Farmer Cooperatives. The leaders of these organizations recently launched the Free Farmers, Inc., in New York as their streamlined version of the Associated Farmers. Using Lewis' dairy move as an excuse, they staged their first field day in Washington before the Hobbs Committee and attacked, not John L. Lewis, but organized labor as a whole, and demanded the passage of the Hobbs Bill along with the repeal of the Wage-Hour Act and other labor legislation. Free Farmers, Inc., though ostensibly organized to fight John L. Lewis, has actually aided Lewis' campaign; without the help of these discredited farm spokesmen, Lewis would have had difficulty getting his "farm" drive under way; but the "attacks" of these farm "fakers" only served to make some farmers conclude that perhaps Lewis was right.

Now that the C.I.O. Executive Board has taken formal action against Lewis and specifically condemned his attempt to organize dairy farmers, many labor leaders take it for granted that the farmers have been duly notified, and should now understand that Lewis is not their friend. Such is far from the case. The country papers have carried practically nothing on the decisions taken by the C.I.O. Executive Board; and even the official organs of the leading farm groups have not reported the meetings. It is essential that this situation be corrected and that farmers have access to the facts on Lewis' treachery to the labor movement and to the nation.

When Lewis came forward with his plan for wrecking the American labor movement, his actions made it clear that he was following a rule-or-ruin policy directed against the war effort. His raids on other unions, his connection with the America First Committee, his insidious double-talk in regard to the

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war effort even after Pearl Harbor left no doubt that Lewis was determined to hinder the war program in every possible way. Labor rejected the Lewis-Hutcheson "disunity" plot, in the words of C.I.O. President Murray, as an attempted "Pearl Harbor" against the entire labor movement and against all the forces for national unity. Though Lewis has now decided that a slight amount of lip-service in support of the war is necessary to conceal his treasonable activities, he has continued to aid the enemies of this people's war; the official papers published by his organizations miss no opportunity to spread defeatism. Lewis bought his way into "paper" farm organizations, whose memberships were already declining, not for the purpose of organizing the farmers or of bringing them labor support as his agents claimed, but for the purpose of driving a wedge between farmers and workers. His move provided fuel for the anti-labor forces in the countryside, who blamed all of labor for Lewis' invasion and proceeded to launch counter-attacks which only helped Lewis' campaign to disrupt national unity.

Some farm leaders hesitated to attack Lewis' move because they feared that by so doing they would be attacking labor; and labor leaders, having few ties with farm groups, were not able to supply the information necessary for mutual understanding and joint action. But now that the C.I.O. Executive Board has taken official action on the Lewis move, the way is open for proper and harmonious farmer-labor relations, with a clear recognition by labor that farmers should not be organized into labor unions, but that the closest possible working relations must be developed between farm and labor groups.

While labor rapidly set forth a series of plans to mobilize the nation's industrial power on a war footing, the national farm groups developed no such plans for specific war crops; they failed to supply the broad, over-all leadership that the situation demanded. Though the Grange quietly retired its National Master who was on the America First Committee, the new incumbent, Albert S. Goss, has made no attempt to revamp the policies of the national office. In the July issue of the National Grange monthly, Goss assails the Administration and attacks price control; a previous issue of this same publication hails Lindbergh as a "bold soul" and regrets that though he "tried to warn us . . . we would not listen." The president of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives is none other than H. E. Babcock, who consistently attacked efforts to increase farm production, writing in the *American Agriculturist*, for example, that "expansion" is "not in the public interest." He has repeatedly attacked the Administration, labor and progressive farm groups. Ed O'Neal was asked by President Roosevelt several months ago to unify the farm organizations behind the Food-for-Victory program; but, instead of this, his "unifying" activities have been limited to joining with the defeatist groups in attack-

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ing labor, the F.S.A., N.Y.A. and C.C.C.

Irrespective of this, labor will find that such views are by no means representative of the great majority of farmers. The Ohio and Vermont Farm Bureaus openly broke with Ed O'Neal on the F.S.A. fight, and several State Granges also refused to be muzzled by their national officers on this issue. The Grange membership is drawn almost entirely from family-sized farms, and its locals are usually anxious to receive visiting speakers from labor or other organizations who can discuss current issues. Similarly with Bureau organizations in the North Central and New England areas, unions will find that an exchange of speakers can easily be arranged and that farmers will welcome opportunities to cooperate with labor in the common struggle against the Hitler Axis and its friends on our shores.

The President of a Farm Bureau local in Cerro Gordo County, Iowa, recently attacked the national leadership of the Bureau declaring that "the rank and file of its members are beginning to think and think aloud." He added, "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make drunk with power."

The National Farmers Union has been the only national farm organization that has taken a consistent and positive attitude in support of the war. *The Farmers Union Herald*, which has the largest circulation of any Farmers Union paper and is the official organ of its cooperatives, recently came out in favor of a Western Front and for the closest possible relations with the U.S.S.R. Moreover, the National Farmers Union has flatly declared that farmers, representing as they do 23 per cent of the nation's population, must necessarily cooperate with labor if they are to make their influence felt in the political life of the country. It welcomed the aid of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. in the fight to preserve the F.S.A.; it repudiated the attacks made by the Free Farmers, Inc., against labor; it came out against Lewis' attempts to lure farmers into his District 50 camp and correctly pointed out that neither the C.I.O. nor labor should be blamed for Lewis' disruptive dairy move. The National Farmers Union, moreover, took a forthright position urging that farmers be allowed to serve on Price Control and Rationing Boards and asking that labor also be duly represented on these boards.

In addition to the national farm organizations, there are important state organizations, such as the Farmers Union of the New York Milk Shed, the Dairymen's League, and the Missouri Farmers Association. The Farmers Union is the only one of these organizations which has endorsed an all-out program for victory. It has supported every move for abundant farm production and blazed the trail by drafting a war plan for milk in its area, the only such plan to be drawn up by a farm group. It has fought the Lewis dairy drive and has also opposed the anti-labor counter-attack staged by Free Farmers, Inc. Operating in the same milk shed, the Dairymen's

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League offers a sorry comparison to the Farmers Union; it helped to form Free Farmers, Inc., and at its recent convention, Fred H. Sexauer, president, continued his attacks against labor, consumers and the Administration. The Missouri Farmers Association, representing approximately 50,000 family-sized farms in its state, has frequently declared its hostility to the Axis. But instead of helping to formulate a positive war program for agriculture, it has been stringing along behind the policies of Representative Clarence Cannon and the Farm Bureau, and at one point it was even drawn into the anti-labor campaign of the Free Farmers.

Joint Action to Break "Bottlenecks" and Bring Agriculture into the War Program

Labor has done much to speed up the nation's war production effort, to hasten conversion, and to bring unutilized plants, equipment and resources into the general production drive. By joining forces with the farmers, labor can aid them in getting action to break the "bottlenecks" that hold back agricultural production. In the case of the dairy program, the government has been unable to secure enough spray-dried skim milk to meet its needs; its program to finance farmer cooperatives in order to secure additional supplies has been sabotaged by representatives of the dairy trust. In the case of the rubber program, which is of general concern to the nation, it has been definitely established that wheat and other grains furnish a practical source for the manufacture of synthetic rubber.

Donald Nelson recently declared on the basis of evidence that has been piling up that at least "50 per cent of the rubber program ought to be made from grain alcohol," although none had heretofore been scheduled from this source. Wickard endorsed the grain-rubber plan; then Standard Oil remembered that it too could make rubber from agricultural products; and now even Jesse Jones has acknowledged that they should be used. In view of the fact that huge wheat stocks are now on hand, that storage space is lacking for the 1942 wheat crop, and that wheat acreage is being drastically restricted, it would certainly be a boon to the farmers and to all the enemies of the Axis to see that such a program is pushed. Opposition has come primarily from Standard Oil of New Jersey; but every argument that has been advanced to bar the use of grain has been demolished, and the evidence clearly shows that grain not only affords an economical source for making industrial alcohol but also can materially lessen the time required to get synthetic rubber into production. While some steps have already been taken to permit more corn to be used in making industrial alcohol, which in turn may be converted into rubber, little has been done to utilize wheat, and wheat is the great "surplus" crop.

We can no longer afford the luxury of unused "surpluses"—in point of fact there are no surpluses. One by one, we have seen our crops

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move from the "surplus" to the "deficit" category, so great are the needs of war. Even in the case of cotton, we are told that this year's production should have been nearly 15 per cent greater to meet the demands of war uses. It is clear that agricultural products can be put to many hitherto undeveloped uses in industry and that, as Secretary Wickard said, food "is the driving force behind high production by munitions workers, and top-notch performance and strong morale among soldiers and sailors."

Farming for Victory

While holding back the full mobilization of farm production, the defeatists have sought to prey on the farmers' fear that a post-war crash will occur as in 1921 and that contraction will again be the order of the day. But this is a people's war—a war of liberation, and not an imperialist war. It is only by participating in this war and fighting it with every ounce of energy that the farmers and workers can go forward. We have already seen the significant 20-year Pact signed by England and the U.S.S.R., and the U. S.-Soviet Agreement, which means that the farmers of America will have the opportunity and the obligation to rehabiiltate a major part of the world after the war.

"Food is a whole arsenal of weapons in this struggle for human freedom," Secretary Wickard recently said in a speech calling upon the farmers to produce food "on a scale that will write history." The lid must now be lifted. Every farm, every acre, every hour of work must be allowed to make its maximum contribution to the war effort.

Everything must be done to help the farmers achieve top production, to shift to the most essential war crops, and to integrate agriculture into the whole war production program. The farmers on the home front can make their greatest contribution to the defeat of the Axis by working their farms at maximum productivity; and by expanding their production to the uppermost limit they will at the same time be solving their most pressing and immediate economic problems. It is by helping the farmers to participate in the Foor-for-Victory program, and all other aspects of the war program, that their fears will be most readily overcome, that they will understand the meaning of this people's war, and that the defeatists will be forced to run for cover.

The battle for farm production is a vital sector of the war against Hitler. The full mobilization of our farm resources is part of the general mobilization of the people and resources of America for a speedy Western Front in Europe to defeat Hitler in 1942.

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THE COMMUNISTS, THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE WAR

BY BEN DAVIS, JR.

THE letter below was written on June 29 to *The New York Age*, a leading Negro weekly in Harlem, in comment upon the main editorial in its issue of June 27, entitled "Communism and the Negro." The editorial contained several misunderstandings with regard to the present policy of the Communist Party and *The Daily Worker* with reference to the struggle for Negro rights during the period of our country's patriotic war to destroy Hitlerism, and more specifically since June 22, 1941, when the Soviet Union was treacherously attacked and America's full participation in the war became inevitable in protection of its own sovereignty. The *Age* gave ample opportunity to *The Daily Worker* and the Communist Party to present their views on the editorial, and reprinted the letter below in full in its July 11 issue.

The major questions raised in the *Age* editorial can be pretty well gleaned from the text of the comment contained in the letter. However, it might be said briefly that the *Age* editorial recognized the positive role of *The Daily Worker* and the Communist Party in the fight for Negro rights prior to our country's participation in the war, but mistakenly stated that since that time *The Daily Worker* and the Communist Party have counseled "silence" in the struggle for Negro rights. Of course, the editorial in the *Age* was wholly incorrect. As the letter below points out, precisely because our country is engaged in a patriotic war and requires the greatest national unity and the fullest mobilization of all its resources and human power for victory, the shameful national oppression, long in force against the Negro people, must be obliterated and the Negroes' just demands for equal rights must be met now as a war necessity. It is hoped that the republication of the letter in *The Communist* will help to throw light on the issue of the relationship of the Negro people to the war and will help to clarify and strengthen their struggles for free and equal participation in the war effort, and thus enhance national unity and our nation's fighting strength against the common enemy.

Since writing the letter below very significant developments both of a positive and negative character, and directly affecting the Negro people and our nation's war morale, have taken place. On the

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positive side, the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee has made its first excursion into the deep South—in Birmingham, Alabama—and there made a historic dent in the wall of job discrimination and secured contracts with a number of large Southern war industries for the employment of Negroes. This gain is of course of a limited character compared to what needs to be done, and is made necessary by our just war. But it is of far-reaching significance, even beyond the limited number of jobs obtained for Negro workers; it is symptomatic of the new and positive development growing out of the war, which finds reflection in the increased initiative of the labor movement for Negro rights and in a number of other steps on the part of the Administration indicating a sincere desire to work in the proper direction. It is vital now that these steps be rapidly extended by the Administration, through putting teeth into the F.E.P.C., insuring the full citizenship of the Negro in every walk of life, eliminating jim-crowism in the armed forces, enacting anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation, and through the development of an economic program for the South which will materially improve the morale and well-being of the Southern Negro and white masses.

It is necessary to point out also that since the writing of the letter, the historic Negro Labor Victory Conference took place in New York City, June 27 and 28, where the struggle for the demands of the Negro people was properly and effectively related to the national war effort. This conference, which undoubtedly expressed the sentiment of the Negro people in New York and throughout the country, was in the first place a win-the-war conference and, being so, raised militantly the necessity of wiping out jim-crow now as essential to winning the war. The conference adopted a twelve-point program, embracing support for the eight anti-discriminatory demands adopted at the June 16 Madison Square Garden rally of the March-on-Washington Committee, and urged full unity of the Negro people and their organizations with all other win-the-war forces for victory and for the Negro's full citizenship.

It is obvious, however, that remedies for the grievances of the Negroes are not being pursued rapidly enough. The legal lynching of Odell Waller, 25-year-old Negro sharecropper, in poll-tax Virginia shows that there are powerful fifth column and defeatist forces seeking to prevent and nullify positive gains for Negro rights, and who would crucify national unity and the war effort on the cross of continued lynch justice against Negro Americans. The poll tax system and national oppression of the Negro people are allies of these fifth column and defeatist elements. These elements must be dealt with firmly by our national government, in cooperation with the developing labor and progressive movement in the particular states. The Ku Klux Klan and the fascist anti-Seminic gangs should be immediately disbanded; the five innocent Scotts-

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boro boys still imprisoned should be set free; lynchers should be executed as traitors; and those industrialists and others who practice Hitlerite racism should be condemned and punished as disloyal to our nation. Not only is this a matter of too long delayed justice to the Negro people, it is now essential to victory over the Hitler Axis. The war cannot be won unless, at the same time and as a part of the war effort, an effective fight is made to combat every type of inequality against Negroes and to secure the full citizenship of the Negro citizenry.

This is a people's war, in which every freedom-loving person has a vital stake. The oppressed peoples of the world cannot fight most effectively unless they are given ample evidence of the sincerity of America's goal of the Four Freedoms and unless they are assured, in the war against Hitler, that they are fighting for the liberties and the full equality which they cherish. America can help to mobilize the peoples of India, Africa, Asia and all the other colored peoples by insuring to the Negro masses that full manhood status so essential to victory. The eyes of the colonial peoples of the world, as well as the peoples of the Nazi-occupied countries, are upon the United Nations. Not only do they look to the embattled Soviet Union and its heroic Red Army, but also to our country.

We must inspire these peoples to fight for their own independence against Hitler, in cooperation with the United Nations, by setting a worthy example. As the great statesman and leader of the Communist Party pointed out at the Madison Square Garden Independence rally on July 2 in regard to the demands for the removal of disabilities and discriminations that deny equal rights to the Negro people:

". . . The Communist Party supports these demands of the Negro people unconditionally, and we declare that they must be granted now, at once—precisely in the interests of national unity, of utilizing every productive force, for winning the war. Support for the war requires support for the demands of the Negro people, and not silence on these demands. . . .

". . . We consider the 'white supremacy' slogan of Southern Bourbons one of the greatest dangers to the U.S. in this war, tending to drive away from us our allies and potential allies in Asia, Africa and part of the Americas; only as we prove this 'white supremacy' ideology does not represent the United States can those allies have trust in us."*

* Earl Browder, *Victory Must Be Won*, Workers Library Publishers, pp. 12-13.

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June 29, 1942

TO THE Editor of *The New York Age:*

It is apparent from the editorial in your issue of June 27, entitled "Communism and the Negro," that your paper is under great misapprehension. This editorial quite fairly credits the Communists and *The Daily Worker* with a great fight for the Negroes' cause *before* the present war, but makes a gross error in assuming that we have ceased to do so now. *The Daily Worker,* the Communist Party and other clear-headed win-the-war forces are fighting for full Negro equality now as before; and we consider it even more necessary now in order to secure our country's victory over Hitler.

You place me in the same category with the distinguished Negro leader and president of the National Negro Congress, Dr. Max Yergan. I am honored. It is well known that Dr. Yergan is not a Communist, although I am pleased that his activities as a patriotic fighter for his people and for his country's victory in the war have led you to feel that he is close to the Communists.

For some time there has been a whispering campaign under way among the Negro people with reference to *The Daily Worker* and the Communist Party, responsibility for which campaign does not lie upon the Negro people. This campaign is aimed not alone against the Communists and *The Daily Worker,* but it is also inimical to the best interests of the Negro people and of the nation's war effort. It claims falsely and fantastically that since *The Daily Worker* and the Communist Party support the war, they believe "now's the time to keep silent" about Negro rights. This is so patently and notoriously untrue that we are surprised to see *The New York Age* taken in by it, especially to the extent of innocently using the very same words of the whisperers.

In the first place, *The Daily Worker* and the Communist Party give unqualified support to the war of our country to smash Hitler and all his Axis accomplices. We believe it is your patriotic desire to do the same, and are quite sure that the Negro people take their stand with their nation as they always have in every crisis, from 1775 to 1942. We have no apologies for this position. While we believe your paper supports the war, the editorial in question was unclear on this—the all-decisive issue before all Americans whatever their race, color, creed, political affiliation or class.

The Negro people cannot be true to their own best interests without supporting the war.

The slaveowners' Fuehrer, Jeff Davis, of 1861 is today reincarnated in Berlin—his name is Adolf Hitler. The lynchers, Ku Kluxers, the Rankins, the jim-crow poll taxers, the defeatists and fifth columnists —are serving Hitler today as the Copperheads served Jeff Davis against Lincoln in 1861. The Negro people will fight the Jeff Davis of Berlin today as they fought the Jeff Davis of Montgomery, Alabama, in 1861.

Jeff Davis' slave-market stench,

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in 1861, extended into the North and poisoned the Union forces with a brutal attitude toward the Negro, a hatred of Abolitionists, that seriously impeded the war. In order that the people could be united to crush the "Adolf Hitler" of 1861, it was necessary to combat these brutalities and weaknesses in the Northern forces. But the war had to go on, even while the injustices still continued in the North. Also now the stench of Hitlerism must be removed from our American life in order to strengthen national unity for victory over Hitler—and this is not in contradiction to our demand that the war must go on. No enemy voice must sidetrack us from that necessity.

There are those who say this is a "white man's war," as many of the followers of Garrison said of the Civil War. In reply, permit us to quote Frederick Douglass, the noblest Negro leader and the one who saw clearer and further than any other man—even Lincoln—and who proved himself to be one of the greatest statesmen of our country's history:

"There are weak and cowardly men in all nations. We have them amongst us. They tell you this is a 'white man's war'; that you 'will be no better off after than before the war'; that the getting of you into the army is to 'sacrifice you on the first opportunity.' Believe them not; cowards themselves, they do not wish to have their cowardice shamed by your brave example. Leave them to their timidity, or to whatever motive may hold them back." (*Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: An Autobiography*. Pathway Press, N. Y., p. 374.)

We do not believe the *Age* is or intends to be in the category which Douglass criticized.

The last paragraph of your editorial states:

"The Negro can less afford to keep silent at this time than at any time in his history. For the record shows that we only get what we are willing to fight and die for. At the same time we are fighting to repel an invading foe, we must insist that our neighbors here at home realize and recognize us as and give us all the rights and privileges of Americans too."

With this statement *The Daily Worker* agrees 100 per cent. We make at *all* times *all* of the demands for equality of the Negro. As you truly say, we have made these demands and fought for them in the past. But the peculiarity of the present situation is that the granting of these demands is absolutely necessary now in order to strengthen our country's war effort. We can and must win these demands now, where we could not win them before. We never could before, but we can now, wipe out the jim-crow system. These demands are not demands *against* the war, but *for* the war at the same time that they are for the Negro. We demand the wiping out of the ugly stain of "racial" persecution, of Hitlerism in America, as a necessary strengthening of our country so that we can wipe Hitlerism off the face of the whole earth.

There is evidence too voluminous to quote here to prove this in

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the records and deeds of both *The Daily Worker* and the Communist Party—and in the experiences of the Negro people. How is it possible for the *Age* to contend that *The Daily Worker* counsels "silence" on Negro rights since June 22, 1941, when on the same page of the *Worker* of June 14, 1942, containing an article by the writer which you attack, there were articles castigating jim-crow in the armed forces and in industry? How can your editorial contend that *The Daily Worker* counsels "silence" on Negro rights since June 22, 1941 (or since Pearl Harbor), when *The Daily Worker* has been and is campaigning against the poll tax, lynching, discrimination, segregation, and when these campaigns are seen in virtually every edition of the paper regularly. Evidently the *Age* editorial writer did not understand our contention that the fight for Negro rights must be intensified *for the very reason* that we are at war and want the strongest national unity to win that war.

While *The Daily Worker* agrees with the *Age* that "Negroes can less afford to keep silent than ever"—something must be said in addition. Not alone can the Negroes ill afford to be silent. NO American—white or black, capitalist or worker, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant—can afford to be silent about the jim-crow evils which samefully exist against Negroes. For these evils, always unjust, now impair winning the war and must be eliminated without delay. Without the full integration of the Negro into war industries, into the governing councils of the nation, into the armed forces—as free and equal citizens—victory is endangered.

In view of all this, it is even more ridiculous for the *Age* editorial to claim that *The Daily Worker* has the same position as Roy Howard's flunkey, Westbrook Pegler. We don't believe the *Age* editor would on second thought insist upon this contention. No Negro in the country, no matter how misinformed he may be with reference to *The Daily Worker* or the Communists, would seriously think our position is anything like Mr. Howard's little pro-fascist Negro-and-Red-baiter. In fact, the editor of *The New York Age* sent a statement to *The Daily Worker*, at the writer's request, denouncing Pegler's attack upon the Negro press; and the statement was printed in the *Worker* of May 17.

As "evidence" that *The Daily Worker* has the same position as Roy Howard's underling, the *Age* editorial cited an open letter by the writer to A. Philip Randolph published in the *Worker* of June 14. But the *Age's* case collapses when it strangely fails to print a single quotation from this open letter. Among other things this letter stated:

"*The Daily Worker* emphasizes today that because our country is defending its very national existence, it is imperative that jim-crowism be eliminated from our armed forces and civilian life. The integration of Negro citizens into the war effort on a basis of full equality is vital to national unity and victory."

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Although the open letter said plainly why it did not give advance publicity to the Madison Square Garden rally of June 16, the *Age* asks all over again, and intimates that our letter damaged the meeting. Quite the contrary. Our letter assisted the Negro people and the meeting by doing what certain Norman Thomas Socialists in the sponsorship of the meeting tried to avoid doing: it showed the Negro people their relationship to the war and pointed out that their own special demands are to be won through the prosecution of the war to victory. This was highly beneficial to the meeting, for none of these political bedfellows of the Norman Thomas Socialists dared to insult the Negro people by using a meeting of theirs to denounce the war against the "Jeff Davis" of Berlin. There were no Red-baiting speeches at the Garden rally to disrupt the Negro people's unity or to block the justifiable eight-point demands that were adopted, which *The Daily Worker* and the Communists wholeheartedly support. The concessions to Red-baiting in your editorial certainly do not represent the sentiment of the Negro people, who long ago learned to say "So what?" to Red-baiters who try to discredit their struggles.

The abolition of slavery came as a war necessity even before the Civil War was triumphantly won. Does the *Age* object to the opportunities now being opened to Negroes—although entirely too slowly—because these opportunities are necessary to our winning the war in which we Negroes have as much—or more at stake than any other minority American group? Does the *Age* wish to hold up the progress of the Negro until full citizenship comes as a result of some overnight utopian philanthropy—handed down on a silver platter in a dream world? Does the *Age* wish to sit with folded hands until Hitler wins and nothing is attainable—until American minorities are drenched in their own blood as in occupied Europe?

Douglass said of the far too inadequate Emancipation Proclamation:

"For my own part, I took the Proclamation first and last, for *a little more than* it purported and saw in its spirit a life and power far beyond its letter. It was, in my estimation, an immense gain to have the war for the Union commited to the extinction of slavery, even from a military necessity. It is not a bad thing to have individuals or nations do right, though they do so from selfish motives." *(Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, p. 390.)

President Roosevelt has appointed the historic Fair Employment Practice Committee, the unions are learning the necessity of unity with the Negro people for equality; and the Negro people are making gains, in the very prosecution of this war, even though these gains must especially be speeded by our national government, by labor and by the Negro press and people. These things are done to win the war. Are they any the less beneficial to the Negro people?

Yours truly,

BEN DAVIS, JR.

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FIVE YEARS OF THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

BY COLONEL M. TOLCHENOV

FIVE years ago, on July 7, 1937, the Japanese Army launched extensive military operations against China. China had no united army at that time. The country's armed forces consisted of the Nanking Government Army and the armies of the separate provinces. The Chinese troops had no uniform organization, their armaments consisting of the most varied and mainly obsolete types.

The Japanese invasion and the menace to the state independence of China brought about the unification of the country's national forces. The national liberation movement of the Chinese people facilitated the formation of a new united army of China which throughout these five years has succeeded in resisting the blows of the Japanese troops.

The first stage of the war in China was characterized by the retreat of the Chinese Army, the loss of important political and economic centers. This was brought about by the economic and military superiority of Japan, which had been preparing for war beforehand, and in particular by the tremendous advantages of the Japanese troops, well equipped with modern means of warfare.

To preserve the main forces of its army and gain time for their reorganization and equipment with modern arms, the Chinese command was compelled to sacrifice territory and by stubborn resistance wore down the attacking troops. After three months of stubborn fighting the Japanese troops occupied Shanghai. By that time the Japanese Command realized that the Chinese National Government headed by Chiang Kai-shek had no intention of capitulating, but, relying in the struggle on the support of the entire people, was preparing for prolonged resistance. Striving to achieve decisive results in a short time, the Japanese Command decided to encircle and annihilate the main force of the Chinese Army.

The first such attempt was undertaken by the Japanese in November, 1937, in the district of Nanking. In the second half of December they seized Nanking, but failed in encircling the Chinese units there. Fighting stubborn rearguard action, the Chinese troops retreated beyond the Yangtse River. The object of

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the new Japanese offensive was Hankow, which, following the loss of Nanking, became the temporary capital of China. Battles at the approaches to this important point raged almost throughout the second half of 1938. The capture of Hankow cost the Japanese 300,000 killed and wounded. The Japanese Army operating at the central front was no longer able to continue the offensive. The troops were in need of reinforcements and respite. In the meantime the principal task of the Japanese Command—the rout of the basic forces of the Chinese Army—was not solved.

The Hankow operation concluded the first stage of the Sino-Japanese war and marked a turning point in the war. The Japanese Army, exhausted by the heroic resistance of the Chinese troops, was compelled to change to active defense on many sectors.

The characteristic features of the second stage of the war which followed the battles for Hankow were the relative stabilization of the fronts, the fact that the Japanese Command was compelled to relinquish its plans of extensive operations, and counter-offensives of the Chinese troops on some sectors of the front. By that time the flames of guerrilla warfare flared up on the territories captured by the Japanese. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese patriots rose in heroic struggle against the Japanese troops. As the fighting progressed, the guerrilla detachments became tempered in battles and stronger, and developed their own methods of conducting military operations. Subsequently, the guerrilla forces grew to such an extent that the Chinese Command succeeded in organizing several guerrilla armies.

By surprise attacks, the guerrillas disorganized work in the rear of the Japanese Army, inflicted and continue to inflict considerable damage to the Japanese troops. Guerrilla operations tied down considerable forces and material of the Japanese Army. Throughout 1939 and 1940, the Japanese troops undertook a number of offensive operations of local importance. At the cost of heavy losses, they occupied Nanchang in April, 1939. Following this the Japanese spent several months in energetic preparations for operations to capture Changsha. This operation was aimed at routing the Chinese troops operating in the northern Changsha province as well as obtaining a base extremely favorable for subsequent operations westward and southward.

In September, 1939, after concentrating large forces supported by over 150 planes, the Japanese launched a concentric offensive on Changsha. The first attempt of the Japanese to capture Changsha failed and cost them from 30,000 to 35,000 killed and wounded. In this case the Chinese Command resolutely brought reserves into battle in good time and inflicted a serious defeat on the enemy.

In 1941 Japan failed to gain any major successes on the fronts of China. The vast occupied territory and the consequent long front line demanded far stronger forces for

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decisive victory than those which the Japanese had at their disposal in China. But Japan wanted to conclude the war in China as soon as possible to free the 1,000,000 troops there for war in the Pacific, preparations for which were already under way.

In May, 1941, the Japanese launched an offensive in the Southern Shansi Province against the Chinese troops operating in the Chungtiaoshan Mountains. The attack against the Chinese was launched by over 100,000 troops supported by artillery and aircraft. In this operation, the Japanese set themselves as their basic aim to rout the Chinese troops and reach the northern bank of the Hungho for a subsequent offensive on Sian-Loyang.

Nevertheless, part of the Chinese troops succeeded in fighting through to the southwest, while part remained in the mountains to conduct guerrilla operations. Lacking adequate forces for continuing the offensive on Sian and Loyang, the Japanese changed to the defensive on this sector of the front.

In September, 1941, the Japanese launched a second offensive on Changsha. In addition to seizure of this important point, the operation was designed to conceal the transfer of Japanese troops from China to districts of the South Seas begun at that time. Taking advantage of the suddenness of their offensive, the Japanese troops reached Changsha in a comparatively short period of time, but failed to encircle and annihilate the Chinese. The Chinese launched an offensive on other sectors of the front simultaneously with a counter-offensive on the Changsha front. This operation cost the Japanese some 40,000 killed and wounded. The Chinese captured considerable trophies and took many prisoners.

The desire to inflict a decisive defeat to the main Chinese forces on the central front induced the Japanese Command to launch a third offensive on Changsha, which also came to grief. The Chinese troops counterattacked, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

According to the Chinese press, from December 1, 1941, to January 26, 1942, alone, the Japanese troops on the central front lost 56,900 men.

Following the beginning of military operations in the Pacific and China's declaration of war on Japan and the Axis countries, the struggle on the Sino-Japanese front became a component part of the world war. This to a considerable extent increases the importance of the Chinese theater of military operations. Following the outbreak of war in the Pacific theater, the Chinese Command, with the object of rendering aid to the British troops defending Hong Kong, began an offensive in the districts east of Canton and along the Canton-Kowlung railway. The counter-offensive of the Chinese troops, as well as the active operations of the guerrilla detachments, compelled the Japanese Command to dispatch large reinforcements from Kowlung, thereby weakening their units advancing on Hong Kong. However,

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in connection with the fall of Hong Kong and the beginning of the Japanese offensive on all fronts of China, the operations of the Chinese troops did not develop any further.

When Japan started the war against China five years ago she expected that a few blitz attacks would bring it to a speedy conclusion. In reality these calculations turned out to be bankrupt and mistaken. Not a single operation undertaken by the Japanese troops brought about the rout of the basic force of the Chinese Army.

In five years of struggle the Japanese troops not only failed to break the resistance of the Chinese but that resistance, far from abating, grew steadily stronger. Owing to the tremendous technical superiority, Japan succeeded, at a cost of heavy losses, in seizing the most important districts of China. In the face of grim danger, the Chinese people united for struggle for their national independence. In the course of the war against a stronger army, firmly and courageously overcoming all its obstacles, the Chinese Government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, succeeded in creating a new military and economic base, in reorganizing and consolidating its armed forces, building up a strong and united army.

Five years of hard struggle did not break the will of the Chinese people nor shake their faith in the successful outcome of their resistance. Far from exhausting its strength, the Chinese Army is incomparably stronger today and continues to fight for the national liberation of its native land as courageously, firmly and heroically as before.

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LESSONS OF THE CIVIL WAR FOR OUR DAY*

BY A. B. MAGIL

THE American nation, sprung from the womb of the War of Independence, saved from early extinction by the democratic life-force of the common people under Jefferson, on the threshold of young manhood faced death from the devouring cancer of slavery. Today a far more malignant growth, fascism, threatens all nations with a common grave and compels us once more, as in 1861, to turn to the grim surgery of war for a new birth of freedom.

In 1861, as in 1776, the defeat of our country's enemies was made possible by achieving, despite widespread disruption and sabotage, a very large measure of common action of those classes whose interests lay with the development of capitalism and therefore with the preservation of the Union.** There were, however, many obstacles in the way. And in their bold attempt to destroy our nation and establish a slave republic astride the two oceans, the Southern dictators counted heavily on a national disunity which they themselves had skilfully nurtured. Class alignments were such that the slave system was able to fasten its grip on the Federal government in the very period in which, economically, capitalism and free labor were sealing its doom.*

The South—A House Divided

The South itself was a house divided and in turmoil—yet a house with a master who was cunning and ruthless. Of the 8,000,000 white people in the slaveholding states in 1860, only 384,000, or less than 5 per cent, owned slaves, and only a fraction of these were large slave owners. Except for the merchants, lawyers, clergymen, journalists, teachers, etc., most of whom were part of the slaveholders' reti-

* This is the second of two articles on the lessons for our own time and our present war of national survival and liberation of America's three great national wars of the past: the War of Independence, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. The first article appeared in the April issue of *The Communist*.

** Karl Marx, who wrote the most penetrating contemporary comments on the Civil War, pointing out that a victory for the South, with the establishment of an independent slave republic controlling all contested territory, would inevitably have drawn into its economic orbit the majority of the free states and eventually forced them to join the Confederacy. (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, International Publishers, New York, p. 80.)

* Of the $3,736,000,000 of wealth produced in this country in 1859, over $2,818,000,000, or 75 per cent, came from the farms and factories of the North. In 1857 the North had more than twice as much wealth in real and personal property as the South, $10,957,000,000 as against $5,202,000,000. (Ernest L. Bogart, *Economic History of the American People*, pp. 443, 469.)

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nue, the rest of the white population consisted of independent farmers who lived in the upland regions, "poor white" farmers, agricultural laborers, artisans and city workers, all of whom owned no slaves and were in frequent conflict with those who did. In the decade before the Civil War there were sharp political contests in a number of Southern states between the democratic forces and the oligarchy, and the latter were by no means always victorious. On the eve of the Civil War there is every reason to believe that a majority of the Southern people were opposed to secession. One of the leading Virginia secessionists, Edmund Ruffin, wrote in his diary on April 2, 1861, that it was "communicated privately by members of each delegation [to the Confederate constitutional convention] that it was supposed people of every state except South Carolina were indisposed to the disruption of the Union—and that if the question of reconstruction of the former Union was referred to the popular vote, that there was probability of its being approved."*

The most powerful anti-slavery force in the South was, of course, the slaves themselves, who numbered nearly 4,000,000 in 1860. The lightning of slave revolt struck more and more frequently throughout the South as the inevitable conflict neared; in addition, thousands of Negroes found their way via the Underground Railroad to freedom in the North. Clearly, the entire social structure of the South, far from being the harmonious and integrated unit presented in history books, romantic novels and Hollywood films, was actually a smoldering volcano on whose peak teetered a desperate and decadent ruling class. And like the fascist dictators today, this ruling class could not wage war against free America without at the same time by force and fraud waging war on its own people.

The problem of bringing this people—the classes whose future was bound up with capitalism—into common action with their brothers of the North was primarily a problem of liberating the slaves and of weakening the oligarchy's grip on the white population through the military defeat of the South. Today we face a similar problem with regard to the German people. The reaction of the Southern white masses to the experiences of the war is described as follows by Charles and Mary Beard:

"Indeed, recent historians, such as Frank L. Owsley and A. B. Moore, are inclined to attribute the final collapse of the Confederacy not so much to a failure of material goods as to a lack of support from state authorities, to evasions of the draft, and to discouragement among the masses; above and beyond everything, to the growing conviction among the southern farmers of the uplands that the Confederate government was a slave owners' agency of power given to class favoritism, that the conflict was 'a rich man's war and a poor man's fight,' all the more poignantly evident when the draft laws ex-

* Cited by Herbert Biel, "Class Conflicts in the South—1850-1860," *The Communist*, February-March, 1939.

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empted first the owners of at least twenty and then fifteen Negroes from military service on the ground of supervisory requirements."*

The Roots of Appeasement

In the North the social structure was both more complex and more fluid. The well-to-do merchant of the Revolution had become a merchant prince. His consort was the banker, and together they divided with the shipping and railroad magnates the economic empire of the North. Manufacturing, which, except for the home variety, had been almost non-existent in the early years of the republic, began to grow under the stimulus of the war of 1812, and its development was particularly rapid in the two decades prior to the Civil War. It was this which helped bring the conflict to a head. Yet on the eve of the Civil War large-scale manufacturing was still in its infancy and the industrialist was only on the threshold of dominance. The large merchants and bankers controlled the economy of the North. It is this which largely explains the vacillations and shabby compromises that marked the conduct of the North up to the very outbreak of the war. For the Northern merchants, whose center was New York, had powerful economic ties with the Southern oligarchy, buying from them cotton, tobacco and other products —especially cotton—and selling them manufactured goods, much of it imported from England. Acting as brokers for Southern cotton, the merchants became the political brokers for the cotton kings. It was the alliance with the Northern Democratic Party, the political proxy of the commercial bourgeoisie, that enabled the slavocrats to capture control of the Federal government for twenty years and wring the repeated concessions that extended their power.

In their attitude toward the slaveholders the Northern merchants and bankers reproduced on a larger scale the attitude of the wealthy American merchants toward Britain in the years that led up to the War of Independence. In our own time we have seen a similar policy assume global proportions, with the brokers of Munich exacting an even more terrible tribute from mankind. Recent history seems to be anticipated as one reads the story of how the nineteenth-century Astors and Belmonts alternately resisted the encroachments of the slave power and yielded, collaborating in the blackmail of the country much after the Chamberlain fashion of a later day.* Yet each of these disreputable compromises produced its counteraction in the North, bringing nearer the breaking-point. This dialectic process was brilliantly summed up by Marx in an article in the October 11, 1861, issue of the New York *Daily Tribune:*

"The progressive abuse of the Union by the slave power, working through its alliance with the northern Democratic Party, is, so to say, the general formula of United States

* *The Rise of American Civilization*, Vol. II, p. 94.

* See Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict.*

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history since the beginning of this century. The successive compromise measures mark the successive degrees of the encroachment by which the Union became more and more transformed into the slave of the slaveowner. Each of these compromise measures denotes a new encroachment of the South, a new concession of the North. At the same time none of the successive victories of the South was carried out but after a hot contest with an antagonistic force in the North, appearing under different party names with different watchwords and under different colors. If the positive and final result of each single contest told in favor of the South, the attentive observer of history could not but see that every new advance of the slave power was a step forward to its ultimate defeat."*

The Issue of Emancipation

What was this "antagonistic force in the North" which hotly contested the advance of the slave power? It was the force of the agrarian West and the rising industrial capitalism of the East. Anticipating by thirty years the work of Professor F. J. Turner, Marx was the first to point out the decisive role in the struggle against slavery played by the small farmers of the Northwest.

"A closer study of this American business," he wrote to Engels on July 1, 1861, "has shown me that the conflict between South and North—after the latter has abased itself for the past fifty years by one concession after another—was finally (apart from the new and shameless demands of 'chivalry') brought to a head by the weight thrown into the scales by the extraordinary development of the northwestern states. The population there, richly mixed with fresh German and English elements, and, in addition, self-working farmers for the most part, was naturally not so easily intimidated as the gentlemen of Wall Street and the Quakers of Boston."*

It was these independent farmers of the Northwest that became the yeast in the compound of forces which organized the Republican Party. Their rising strength was shown when the seven Northwestern states gave Abraham Lincoln, himself a son of the Western frontier, 43.4 per cent of his total vote. The majority of these Western farmers were hostile to slavery, but were concerned rather with preventing its spread to the territories than with exterminating it in the areas where it already existed.

With them stood the industrialists, as distinct from the merchants. On the eve of the Civil War this new industrial bourgeoisie was just beginning to feel its oats. A young giant, it required for sustenance domination of the home market, economic and political unification of the country. Unlike the commercial plutocracy, it could not surrender to the slaveholders and live; unlike the petty-bourgeois farmers, it could not divide power with them without itself becoming a torso. And so already in the 'fifties this giant was moving with stormy tread to the irrepressible conflict that would by gutting the slave system raise

* *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

* *Ibid.*, p. 226.

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the industrialists to unchallenged power. The political spokesmen of the industrial capitalists were the Radical Republicans, whose leaders were men like Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio, and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. Stevens in particular was the embodiment of the bourgeois revolution, a torrent of a man, one of the commanding figures of American democracy.*

With the spread of industry the working class, which had been only rudimentary in the period of the first Revolution, began to assume distinct form. The beginnings of trade union organization were molded in the 'twenties into a definite movement, and the same period also saw the first experiments with workers' political parties. Up until the Civil War, however, the working class and the trade union movement grew slowly because of the influence of slavery, the restricted development of industry and the presence of an expanding frontier. As late as 1852 Marx was writing to Joseph Weydemeyer, who had emigrated to the United States, that "bourgeois society in the United States has not yet developed far enough to make the class struggle obvious."** The antagonism between capital and labor began, in fact, to be submerged in the more elementary conflict between capitalism and the slave system. The unfettering of capitalism through the destruction of slavery therefore became the pre-condition for the development of the working class and the opening of the path to the fulfilment of its historic mission: the socialist transformation of society and the liberation of mankind.

The workers were instinctively hostile to slavery and were active in the struggle against it. Of the Abolitionist movement in the early years when William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* was challenging reaction and complacence, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a leading Abolitionist, wrote that it "was not . . . strongest in the more educated classes, but was predominantly a people's movement, based on the simplest human instincts and far stronger for a time in the factories and shoe-shops than in the pulpits or colleges."* However, partly as a result of the hostility of some Abolitionist leaders toward the workers' own demands, partly from lack of understanding of the historic significance of the struggle against slavery, a strong tendency developed among the trade union leaders to adopt a narrow attitude toward the problem. They often minimized the oppression and degradation of chattel-slavery, declaring it to be no worse than wage-slavery, and contented themselves with formal endorsements of emancipation.

Slavery and the Union

Drawn from all classes, but primarily from the urban and rural middle classes and the working class, the Abolitionists played a special role in the stormy conflict

* See Elizabeth Lawson, *Thaddeus Stevens*, International Publishers.

** *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Correspondence*, International Publishers, p. 57.

* *Cheerful Yesterdays*, pp. 114-115.

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between two economic and social systems. Like the Sons of Liberty in the fight for independence from England, they were the pioneers, the stirrers-up and goaders-on who spoke with the tongue of history. In the cause of emancipation these courageous men and women faced harsh abuse, social ostracism, death itself; and their martyrs, John Brown of Kansas and Elijah Lovejoy of Illinois, nourished with their blood the sapling that became a great oak of freedom.

The leaders of the organized Abolitionist movement were for the most part Northern white intellectuals and fugitive or free Negroes; among the latter the foremost was the immortal Frederick Douglass.* The movement, for all its greatness and heroism, was, however, not free of sectarian tendencies that impaired its effectiveness. Besides the lack of sympathy toward labor on the part of some—not all—of its leaders, there were those who made the mistake of repudiating political action. Another error was the tendency to regard emancipation in abstract ethical terms and to separate it from its socio-economic context and from the national interests of the American people; this caused certain Abolitionist leaders to become advocates of disunion: they took the position that if the slave states chose to secede, it would be good riddance. Yet, with all its shortcomings, the positive contribution of the Abolitionist movement was enormous. No finer tribute was paid this heroic vanguard than Abraham Lincoln's statement: "I have been only an instrument. The logic and moral power of Garrison and the anti-slavery people of the country and the army have done all."*

With class tensions more highly developed and with the commercial bourgeoisie repeatedly siding with the slaveholders, the problem of welding the diverse forces of the North into a single phalanx moving to the defense of the nation was far more difficult than it had been in the War of Independence. Out of the shifting alignments of the 'forties and 'fifties and out of the bloody struggle over Kansas there was born the Republican Party, representing a coalition of farmers and industrialists, supported by the workers; its platform opposed the further spread of slavery. In the sense that it did not stand for the abolition of human bondage the new alignment was also an expression of bourgeois compromise, but a compromise whose content was radically different from those of the past. Under pressure of the twin forces of industrial capitalism in the East and small-farmer economy in the West a new power had arisen, determined to bar the way to further advance by the slavocracy. Moreover, this new form of compromise was a dynamic phenomenon and served as a transition to the revolutionary struggle for the total destruction of the slave system. The Republican Party thus became the chief instrument of national unity,

* See Herbert Aptheker, "The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement," *Science and Society*, Winter, Spring, 1941.

* Cited by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Contemporaries*, p. 247.

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increasingly gathering round it the patriotic forces of the country.

Resistance to the arrogant lust of the slaveholders also began to manifest itself in the Democratic Party, an expression of the duality of the commercial bourgeoisie, which had ties in both camps, and of the pressure of the Democratic voters. When the party's Northern and Southern wings parted company in the 1860 election, it made possible the victory of the Republican Party.*

With the industrialists, farmers and workers of the North opposed to further yielding to the slave owners, the chief problem of national unity was the attitude of the mercantile interests. These men of wealth and complacent power had their own idea of how to preserve the Union: let the South have its way. And they denounced the Republicans and Abolitionists as subverters of the Union for interfering with their plans. The great majority of the tycoons of trade and finance bitterly opposed Lincoln's election, and even when secession began, they continued to defend the South's right to disrupt the Union. They constituted the "peace" party, as did the Chamberlains and Lindberghs of a later day. The extent to which some of the merchants were deep in the toils of treason was evidenced by the fact that a group of them, together with Fernando Wood, the corrupt pro-slavery Mayor of New York, even started a movement to have New York secede from the Union and set itself up as a free port.

With the firing on Fort Sumter, however, mercantile Big Business had to choose. Its deeper economic interests, anchored in the capitalist system, made the choice of the Union side inevitable. Yet the long years of intimate economic, political and personal relations with the slaveholders made equally inevitable the recrudescence of appeasement and defeatism as difficulties developed in the war. This was particularly true when the war passed from its constitutional phase to a revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the slaves. However, the firing on Fort Sumter did, as in the case of the bombing of Pearl Harbor eighty years later, create temporarily a unity of all classes throughout the North and a united national will that manifested itself in a great patriotic upsurge among the masses.

Another problem of national unity and of the fight for victory was the mobilization of the civilian population. As in the War of Independence, the press (this time daily as well as weekly) and pamphlets played an important role. Such publications as the New York *Daily Tribune,* to which Marx contributed, and *Harper's Weekly* did much to enlighten and arouse the people. And the great literary fig-

* An erroneous emphasis is often placed on the fact that Abraham Lincoln was a minority President since he received only 40 per cent of the vote. But the fact is that the *national* forces in the election were by no means in the minority even though they were still disunited and expressed themselves in a partially confused form. Both Stephen A. Douglas, candidate of the Northern Democrats, and John C. Bell, standard-bearer of the Constitutional Union Party, were against secession, and their votes, together with Lincoln's, amounted to 82 per cent of the total. Moreover, had John Breckenridge, nominee of the Southern Democrats, campaigned openly on a secessionist platform, there is no doubt that the 18 per cent vote he received would have been sharply reduced.

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ures of the day, men like Emerson, Whitman, Bryant, Lowell and Whittier, participated actively in the fight against slavery. Mass meetings to press for emancipation and combat Copperhead propaganda were also widely held; one of the most effective anti-slavery speakers was the girl orator, Anna Dickinson, who later was active in the women's suffrage movement. Women assumed new responsibilities during the war and for the first time, under the leadership of Clara Barton, began to supplant men as nurses at the front.

Abraham Lincoln was steadfast in his opposition to any further territorial encroachment of the slave power. To his managers at the Chicago convention of the Republican Party in 1860 he wrote: "Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery."* After his election he said: "There is one point . . . I can never surrender —that which was the main issue of the Presidential canvas and decided at the late election, concerning the extension of slavery in the territories."** Lincoln, however, did not at first favor the immediate emancipation of the slaves nor grasp its organic relation to the winning of the war and the preservation of the Union. During the first two years his approach to the problem of winning the war was that of the *political and military defensive*. In few wars can one trace so clear a correlation between basic political attitudes and the conduct of military affairs. There is no doubt that the "Save the Union" slogan which Lincoln issued at the outset represented the broadest platform on which a united effort could have been achieved. It embodied the national character of the war, expressed the common stake of the various classes that opposed secession, and also served as a means of appealing over the heads of the slaveholders to the people of the South.

But not all who stood on this ground were agreed on how the Union was to be saved. To a majority of the merchants, bankers and loyal slaveholders of the border states, saving the Union meant restoration of the *status quo ante*. But this was a national struggle that was closely bound up with the social: since the threat to the country's existence came from a class whose power rested on a backward, pre-capitalist mode of production, the war could be successfully waged only as a social revolution; a social revolution that would uproot slavery and raise to unchallenged dominance the industrial bourgeoisie. Thus, only by extending democracy to the South could the democracy of the North be preserved and a new era opened in which labor, rather than the middle classes, became the chief vehicle of democratic advance.

It was the Radical Republicans, the Abolitionists (who quickly sloughed off the sectarian disunionism that had afflicted some of them before the war), and the most advanced sections of the working class, especially the Marxists, who best understood that social change coincided with national need. To-

* Cited by Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, Vol. II, p. 408.

** Cited by Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*, Vol. I, p. 118.

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ward this understanding the Western farmers also moved rapidly as the war developed. The militant anti-secession forces quickly gained the upper hand in Congress, where a new powerful revolutionary instrument came into being, the Committee on the Conduct of the War. It was dominated by the Radical Republicans and was destined to be what the Committees of Safety had been in the War of Independence. It is the fashion among American historians to depict this committee as a collection of "extremists" who harassed Lincoln needlessly and would with the best intentions have paved the way to hell for the Union cause. Professor Edward Channing, for example, writes that the committee "interfered most sadly with the carrying on of military enterprises and no doubt caused the loss of thousands of lives and the expenditure of millions of dollars that might otherwise have been saved."* The truth happens to be the reverse. The Committee on the Conduct of the War interfered with treason and compromise, it saved life and money by insisting on aggressive measures in both the political and military spheres, and its work contributed incalculably to victory. Even T. Harry Williams, in his recently published book, *Lincoln and the Radicals,* a Copperhead tract which libels everything best in the Civil War, concedes the rightness of the Radical Republican position when he states: "Against Lincoln and his conservative program the Jacobins [the Radicals] waged a winning battle. Both logic and time aided their cause. For Lincoln proposed the impossible—to conduct the war for the preservation of the *status quo* which had produced the war."*

It is also frequently argued that Lincoln could not have freed the slaves sooner because the country would not have supported him. And there are those who, coming closer to the truth, yet missing it, maintain that earlier action would have alienated the border states and this might have proved fatal. Both these arguments hardly accord with the facts and overlook the social roots of Lincoln's wavering. Abraham Lincoln was of that petty-bourgeois agrarian class which, desiring control of its own land and its own economic life, actively opposed the invasion of the Western soil by the Southern slaveholders. This class had formed the backbone of the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson and it played, as already noted, a major role in the struggle against slavery. But the reins of history were already passing from its hands into those of the industrial bourgeoisie. Unlike the latter, the economic and social horizons of the independent Western farmers were regional rather than national; they were at first content to limit rather than exterminate slavery. And it was the outlook of this class that Lincoln predominantly expressed as President.

It is probably true that the slaves could not have been liberated immediately after the firing on Fort Sumter without alienating the powerful commercial bourgeoisie and

* *A History of the United States,* Vol. VI, p. 400.

* Pp. 17-18.

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shattering the newly forged national unity at a time when the majority of the people were not yet awakened to the fundamental issues of the conflict. But within a few months the defeats of the North and the clear indications from the Confederacy itself of the uncompromising nature of the war created the opportunity for radical action. Had Lincoln seized the weapon of slave labor out of the hands of the country's enemies and through emancipation converted it into powerful artillery of the Union cause, the great majority of the nation, including a section of the big merchants, would undoubtedly have gone along with him. ". . . from the first," wrote Frederick Douglass in his autobiography, "I reproached the North that they fought the rebels with only one hand, when they might strike effectually with two—that they fought with their soft white hand, while they kept their black iron hand chained and helpless behind them—that they fought the effect, while they protected the cause, and that the Union cause would never prosper till the war assumed an anti-slavery attitude, and the Negro was enlisted on the loyal side."* The fact that even men like General Lewis Cass, Secretary of State under Buchanan, and the prominent Catholic publicist, Dr. Orestes Brownson, both of whom had for years been leading appeasers, had by the fall of 1861 come around to the view that emancipation was indispensable for victory shows the crystalization of public sentiment. On this point, too, T. Harry Williams gives significant evidence. Concerning General Fremont's order of August 20, 1861, freeing the slaves of all rebels in Missouri—an order subsequently rescinded by Lincoln—he writes: "The popular outburst endorsing this action [Fremont's order] was tremendous and instantaneous."*

A Defensive Policy—and Defeats

Not the people, but the limitations of Lincoln's own class-conditioned understanding of the issues, *plus the pressure of the commercial and banking interests and of the loyal slaveholders of the border states*—some of whom merely wore the mask of loyalty—imposed on Lincoln, despite his own abhorrence of slavery, the hesitations, legalistic caution, and defensive strategy of the first two years. Of the influence of the loyal slaveholders Marx wrote in November, 1861:

". . . tender regard for the interests, prejudices and sensibilities of these ambiguous allies has smitten the Union government with incurable weakness since the beginning of the war, driven it to half measures, forced it to dissemble away the principles of the war and to spare the foe's most vulnerable spot, the root of the evil—*slavery itself*."

And he also pointed out that with the extension of the fighting to the border states, "the question of winning or losing them is withdrawn from the sphere of diplomatic and parliamentary discussions" and would be decided by

* *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Pathway Press edition), p. 370.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

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force of arms. "Events themselves drive to the promulgation of the decisive slogan—*emancipation of the slaves.*"*

Lincoln's qualms at striking a decisive blow at what he himself later called "the lever of their [the Southern states'] power"** were an integral part of his whole approach to the problem of victory. Concerning his original proposal for gradual, compensated emancipation, he wrote to Horace Greeley on March 24, 1862: "If I were to suggest anything, it would be that as the North are already for the measure, we should urge it *persuasively,* and not *menacingly,* upon the South."*** In other words, nearly a year after the firing on Fort Sumter, Lincoln was still seeking to *conciliate* rather than crush the slavocracy. And it was this attitude, which he shared, of course, with many others in high places, that determined the military conduct of the war. McClellan, the man who knew everything about war except how to wage it, was the embodiment of the policy of conciliation. Grant, on the other hand, following his hard-won victory at Shiloh only shortly after Lincoln wrote his letter to Greeley, came to the conclusion that the war could be won only by conquering the South. So long as Lincoln clung to conciliation, he clung to McClellan. It is no accident that the final scuttling of that prototype of General Maxime Weygand took place only six weeks after the issuing of the preliminary announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation. And a half year after the freeing of the slaves came the turning of the tide: Gettysburg and Vicksburg.

There was, however, a profound difference between the Lincoln policy and that of McClellan even when they seemed to coincide. The former sought to conciliate the South into accepting the North's terms, the latter to conciliate the North into accepting the South's terms. When Lincoln finally understood that North and South were irreconcilable, he smashed slavery and launched the revolutionary war to beat the South into submission; McClellan became the advocate of "negotiated peace," the plumed knight of national betrayal and defeat. Because Abraham Lincoln was close to the people, because he was fast in their hearts and they in his, he was able to draw strength from them, burn out of himself the dross of indecision and compromise, and to grow with his terrible ordeal. And in taking at last the course that alone could save the nation, he walked the steep path to majesty and greatness.

Marx foresaw the change in Lincoln's policy. "In my opinion," he wrote to Engels on August 7, 1862, "all this will take another turn. In the end the North will make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border slave statesmen. A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on southern nerves." And he added: "The Northwest and New England [that is, the farmers and the industrial bour-

* *The Civil War in the United States,* pp. 81-82.

** Cited by Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years.* Vol. I, p. 562.

*** Cited by Sandburg, *ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 564.

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geoisie] wish to and will force the government to give up the diplomatic method of conducting war which it has used hitherto. . . ."*

Resorting to the Revolutionary Struggle

With the Emancipation Proclamation, that *magna carta* of American democracy second only to the Declaration of Independence, came—not all at once, but steadily nonetheless—the unfolding of that offensive strategy which culminated in Sherman's march through Georgia and Grant's drive on Richmond. The change that came over Lincoln was no less fundamental: only a half year after the Emancipation Proclamation he was so elated with a letter from General Sherman, urging a policy of ruthless annihilation of everyone and everything that stood in the way of victory, that he wanted to publish and distribute it throughout the country. Thus the bridges to the past were burned and the liberation of the slaves proved decisive. Some 200,000 Negroes, most of them newly freed, were recruited into the Union army, and they fought with a courage that won frequent expressions of admiration from white officers. The generations of slave revolts, of sabotage and flight found their consummation in the great national war in which the Negro masses fought for their own liberation and, together with their white brothers, saved the American nation.

Today the descendants of those whom Lincoln freed join with their white comrades on the battlefield and on the production line in a new, vaster national and international conflict that will decide the fate of America and the world. Though many of the restrictions under which black men and women fought and labored for victory in the Civil War have been removed, and the Negro people have emerged as an independent force in the social and political life of the country, continued discrimination in the armed forces, in industry, in all phases of civilian life limit the participation of these 13,000,000 Americans and thereby weaken our whole war effort. Much still needs to be done to root out these vestiges of the slave era and fulfil the democratic promise of the Civil War and the present global war against fascism.

The national unity fused by the firing on Fort Sumter proved less solid than it appeared. Blaming the government for the consequences of the defensive and constitutional approach which they themselves had advocated, the reactionary appeasers and their political representatives, the so-called Peace Democrats (the America First of that day) took advantage of every shortcoming and difficulty to incite the people against the war and against Abraham Lincoln. And from the position of a limited, constitutional war, they eventually, particularly after the Emancipation Proclamation, slid down to the morass of an unlimited negotiated peace—surrender to the slavocracy. All this has for us a familiar ring. The defeatists in Congress and newspapers like the New York *Daily*

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

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News, the Chicago *Tribune,* and the Hearst press, like their political forebears, try to make capital out of every difficulty and attempt to sow distrust toward the government and the war effort, to weaken national unity, and to disrupt the United Nations.

To deal with treason and defeatism Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus, defying a ruling of Chief Justice Taney of Dred Scott ill-fame that this was unconstitutional. Lincoln thus established the principle that the enemies of the country have no right to the protection of the Constitution—a principle which could stand reaffirmation today in regard to the Christian Front, the Ku Klux Klan, and the entire camp of fifth columnists. There were, of course, as there are now, certain misguided liberals who echoed the Copperhead clamor that Lincoln was destroying civil liberties. But in defending the arrest of one of the worst of the Copperheads, Clement L. Vallandigham—to whom President Roosevelt last year compared Charles A. Lindbergh—Lincoln wrote: "Under cover of 'liberty of speech,' 'liberty of the press,' and 'habeas corpus,' they [the secessionists] hope to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways."* And on another occasion he said: "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert?"** What shall be said today of certain publications with millions of circulation *that are trying to induce the entire nation to desert?*

Pressing the offensive against the fifth column was the Committee on the Conduct of the War, which became the scourge of spies, traitors and appeasers. It was this committee that expressed the temper of Congress and the country; and despite his frequent conflicts with the committee, Lincoln came increasingly to share that temper too. Fortunately, the Copperheads had no counterpart of the Dies Committee to further their aims. Such a body would have been unthinkable in the Civil War Congress.

If, despite treason and defeatism, despite corruption and profiteering, despite fantastic military incompetence and the misguided policies of the first two years, Abraham Lincoln was able to lead the country to victory, it was in no small measure due to the aid given by the peoples of other lands. In the ranks of the Union army the contribution of German immigrants was particularly notable. These included participants in the German revolution of 1848, among whom were Communist followers of Marx and Engels like Friedrich Anneke and Joseph Weydemeyer. The latter served as a colonel and was named by Lincoln commandant of St. Louis.

Aid and Solidarity from Abroad

Among European powers Russia alone adopted a sympathetic attitude toward the Union cause; in 1863 two Russian fleets were anchored in New York and San Francisco harbors, ready to act should

* Cited by Sandburg, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 167.
** Cited by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 81.

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England enter the war on the side of the Confederacy. Just as France in the eighteenth century, after her defeat by Britain, sought to weaken that power through alliance with her revolting colonies, so Russia in the nineteenth century, having lost to England and France in the Crimean War, struck at them by countering their interventionist efforts in behalf of the South. As in the case of Louis XVI's France, liberal influences, which in 1861 secured the emancipation of the serfs, were also a factor in determining the Tsar's policy. Acting in the tradition of Benjamin Franklin, Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward shrewdly utilized the antagonisms among the European powers in order to help immobilize those that were hostile to the United States.

But far more potent than tsarist Russia in preventing intervention were the efforts of the English workers. Despite their acute sufferings as a result of the Northern blockade, which forced British textile factories to close for lack of Southern cotton, the workers organized tremendous protests against all attempts of the Palmerston-Russell government to provoke war with the United States or to recognize the independence of the Confederacy. And a major role in this movement was played by Karl Marx, who was then living in London. In the Inaugural Address which he delivered at the founding of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) in September, 1864, Marx declared:

". . . It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic."*

Earlier Lincoln himself, in a letter to the workers of Manchester replying to an address they had sent him, paid tribute to the sacrifices of Europe's workingmen as "an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country."** Today the workers of all anti-Axis nations are once more making heroic sacrifices for the sake of the war against the dealiest despotism that ever threatened mankind. Their international solidarity, rising around the struggles in Ethiopia, Spain and China and lifted higher by the magnificent example of the Red Army and the people of the Soviet Union, has become a mighty liberating tide that will overwhelm the fascist hordes.

Besides the workers, the English Lilberals, men like John Bright, Richard Cobden, and the cabinet member Thomas Milner-Gibson, who were, significantly enough, representatives of the *industrial* bourgeoisie, sympathized with the North and ranged themselves against a pro-slavery war. Gladstone, who at that time had one foot in the Tory and one in the Liberal camp, played an ambiguous role, exerting himself against intervention during the

* *Founding of the First International* (International Publishers), p. 38.

** Cited by Herman Schlueter, *Lincoln, Labor and Slavery*, p. 167.

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Trent affair,* but later declaring in a speech that "Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South . . . have made a nation."**

The Workingmen in the Civil War

The American workers proved worthy of their English brothers. Trade unions recruited volunteers, and union men, as well as the great body of unorganized workers, shed their blood for freedom. Theirs was not an independent role, for they were still weak organizationally and inexperienced politically; the workers made their contribution to victory under the political leadership of the industrialists. Yet coming events were already being foreshadowed: the great expansion of manufacturing during the war swelled the ranks of the working class, stimulated the growth of the trade unions and sharpened the antagonisms between capital and labor. For the sake of the common fight, however, the workers subordinated their own grievances, just as is the case today. As Schlueter points out, "notwithstanding the most outrageous provocation on the part of the ruling class and the government during the Civil War, they [the workers] never wavered in exalting the cause of the Union over their own cause and their class interests."* Schlueter formulates the working class attitude rather narrowly. The preservation of the Union and the annihilation of slavery were, as Marx and Engels so clearly perceived, the workers' own cause, and only through its triumph could their class interests be advanced. For the workers of America, as for those of Europe, "the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class."**

Today again the star-spangled banner carries the destiny of the working class and of the whole American people. Together with the flags of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China and the other United Nations it carries the destiny of mankind. We are engaged in a struggle of unprecedented magnitude in which separate interests are submerged in the common fate of all and the convulsion of war shakes the oceans and the continents that are the human home. Defeat in this war would mean the end of the national and social achievements of the democratic bourgeois revolution in all countries, the destruction of the trade unions, and a descent into a new dark age from which all future advance toward socialism would be incalculably more difficult and painful. Victory would mean, as in every people's war of the past, a powerful unleashing of the forces of democracy. The downfall of fascism in Europe and Asia will send a great liberating impulse through every part of the globe; it will

* On November 8, 1861, Captain John Wilkes, commander of the American warship *San Jacinto*, stopped the British mail steamer *Trent*, which was about to pass through the Bahama Channel, and removed two Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, and their secretaries. The British government threatened to go to war unless the men were released and the Tory press launched a provocative campaign. The incident was closed when Secretary of State Seward on December 26 agreed to release the Confederate agents.

** Cited by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 83.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

** Marx, "Address of the International Workingmen's Association to Abraham Lincoln," *The Civil War in the United States*, p. 279.

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create the conditions for fulfilling the recent pledges of Vice President Wallace and Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles that discrimination because of race, color or creed will be abolished and an equality of peoples established.

Our National War Today

The present national war differs from those of the past in that it occurs, not in the epoch of the ascendancy of capitalist nations and states, but in the epoch of imperialism, out of whose loins has sprung the fascist monster that threatens the existence of so many nations and states. This war differs, secondly, in that it occurs at a time when over a vast territory of what was backward Russia 200,000,000 people have already taken the leap into the epoch of socialism, opening new vistas of democratic advance. And finally, this is no longer a war affecting the life of one or a few nations, but a vast international conflict in which highly developed bourgeois-democratic states, colonial and semi-colonial countries and the Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union are united in common struggle to preserve and extend national independence.

This war poses new problems. One of them is the production of war materials. The role of war production has become qualitatively different from what it was in the past. In the War of Independence it was possible for our country to achieve victory with meager supplies of arms, partly imported from France and partly manufactured here in primitive improvised arsenals. In the Civil War it sufficed to expand our skeleton munitions industry and supplement it by the conversion of a few shops and factories. In both conflicts the provision of war supplies required only a fraction of the country's manpower, economic resources and capital. Today, on the other hand, the major part of our industrial activity, extended to its uttermost limits, must be turned to the manufacture of arms, and civilian needs must be subordinated to war economy. This necessarily converts the civilian rear into a major front requiring the mobilization of the entire nation.

The new role of production also underlines the fact that this is the first national war in which the decisive class forces are the workers. In 1776 the urban and rural middle classes provided the impetus; in 1861, the industrialists and farmers; today it is the working class that is decisive in production, that is the driving and rallying force for uniting and defending the nation, for achieving victory. And the trade unions, with their 11,000,000 membership, constitute a powerful instrument, not of labor alone, but of the whole nation in the fight for survival and liberation. The strength of the working class also stems from the fact that it has a vanguard, the Communist Party, which existed only in embryo in 1861-65.

Politically, there is still a big lag in the influence of the American working class. It has no representatives in the Cabinet and very few in Congress or State Legislatures, where the enemies of the people—

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the Dieses, Reynoldses, Smiths, Hoffmans and Coxes—are represented over-generously. This situation injures not labor alone, but the nation and the entire war effort. Doubtless, the lack of labor representation is one of the reasons that we have no counterpart in the present Congress of the Committee on the Conduct of the War. The Senate's Truman Committee and the House's Tolan Committee are approaches to it, but their scope is much more limited. Labor-management production committees and greater participation of labor in the directing agencies of the War Production Board can do for the field of production what the Committees of Safety and the Committee on the Conduct of the War did for the war as a whole in 1776 and 1861.

And out of the rich record of those liberation struggles of the past rise important signposts for our world battle today. One of them is national unity. When President Roosevelt told the country in his January 6, 1942, message at the opening of Congress that the nation was more united than ever in its history, he spoke the literal truth. This unity embraces all classes and groups, including the dominant sections of the capitalist class. Yet it is also true that within a few weeks the Civil War experience began to be repeated: the forces of disruption and defeatism were on the move again, openly or covertly undermining the war effort. Men like Hoover, Dies, Coughlin, Hearst, Patterson and McCormick speak only for a minority of the most pro-fascist, most bitterly anti-labor and anti-Soviet camp, yet their power to sway or immobilize middle-class elements, many of whom have been hard hit by the dislocations of the war program, should not be underestimated. In the total war we are waging today we need in order to win far greater unity of action than prevailed in 1776, 1812 and 1861, and the work of even a relatively small number of defeatists and traitors may be sufficient to block the victorious advance of this country and its allies. What Vice-President Wallace said of Martin Dies holds good of them all; they are "a greater danger to our national safety than thousands of Axis soldiers within our borders."* While Attorney General Biddle has hesitated to move decisively against men like Coughlin and Hearst, he has played the defeatists' game and exploded a time-bomb under the structure of national unity by ordering the deportation of one of the nation's outstanding patriots, Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast workers. No less damaging to the nation's interests is Biddle's declaration that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence, a vicious and preposterous libel lifted from Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.

A second signpost rising out of 1776 and 1861 points to the strengthening of our bonds with the peoples and governments that share our fight. All the more necessary is this in view of the global character of the Axis menace and of the war to destroy it. As the American patriots

* New York *Times*, March 30, 1942.

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welcomed the French alliance of 1778, so we today welcome the alliance of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. And if the solidarity of the British workers helped us so greatly in the Civil War, does not our present struggle require the establishment of close working relations of the trade union movement of the United States with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee?

And finally, those strenuous years in which our country was born and in which it was saved write large for us today the urgency of an offensive strategy, political and military. The appeasement of Vichy and Franco and the failure to declare war against Mannerheim Finland tend to blunt the cutting edge of the plans for a military offensive. On the launching of this offensive, on the immediate opening of a Western front in Europe may well depend the whole issue of the war. It is not from the founding fathers and not from the Lincoln of 1863-65 that the advocates of a war of attrition, of waiting till we are fully ready in 1943 or 1944, can take any comfort. Consider the situation of the thirteen American colonies, compelled to improvise an army and a government, to fight with insufficient forces and the most paltry arms, yet daring to challenge the greatest power in the world. The American patriots knew that victory would not come of itself, but had to be wrested from the enemy by waging war boldly and taking great risks. Because his troops were few, ill-trained and ill-equipped, Washington often found it necessary to retreat and pursue delaying tactics; yet, like the Red Army today, he seized the first opportunity to take the offensive. Thus, after being driven out of New York and through New Jersey into Pennsylvania in November and December, 1776, he crossed the Delaware during the night and took the foe by surpise, scoring his brilliant victories at Trenton and Princton. The following year, only three weeks after his defeat at Brandywine and the loss of Philadelphia, Washington struck at Germantown and very nearly succeeded in a bold plan to annihilate or capture the entire British army. The American patriots also used guerrilla warfare very effectively; as a result, though the British captured almost all the major cities, they, like the Japanese in China today, could not venture far into the interior without being set upon by bands of farmers who dropped their plows to take up guns.

There is an illuminating passage in the journal of Arthur Lee, one of the American commissioners sent with Benjamin Franklin to France to negotiate an alliance. He records on Oct. 25, 1777, a conversation he had with Franklin in which the latter discussed the war and the reasons for the successes already achieved. He quotes Franklin as saying: "The enemy was everywhere resisted, repulsed or besieged. On the ocean, in the Channel, in their very ports their ships were taken and their commerce obstructed. The greatest revolution the world ever saw is likely to be effected in a few years; and the power that has for centuries made

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all Europe tremble, assisted by 20,000 German mercenaries . . . will be effectually humbled by those whom she insulted and injured, because she conceived they had neither spirit nor power to resist or revenge it."*

There in the words of Franklin is the unconquerable spirit of the offensive, the glowing thread uniting Yorktown to Appomatox to the invasion of Europe that can crush the Nazi military machine in 1942. A new world is fighting its way to life —a world without Hitlerism. This kind of world alone can guarantee that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth." But before it can be born, we and all the United Nations, like the Soviet Union, will have to give to the utmost of blood, sweat and treasure. In this great national crisis, as in those of the past, the American people are finding within themselves the strength to overcome all difficulties. Ours is a grand, imperishable heritage. Those great-hearted men and women who, though a handful, defied the foremost power in Europe and built in blood and sacrifice a nation out of a scattering of colonies; their grandchildren who, though hemmed in by treason, rescued the nation from the fetters of slavocracy and made America strong—they live in us today and proclaim the future that shall be ours.

* Cited by Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 587.

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BOOK REVIEW

REASON AND REVOLUTION, HEGEL AND THE RISE OF SOCIAL THEORY, By Herbert Marcuse. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941.

THE genius of Hegel and the tremendous contribution which he made to the development of human thought has been recognized by all Marxists since the days of Karl Marx himself. In the Preface to the second edition of *Capital*, Marx says:

"I . . . openly avowed myself the pupil of that mighty thinker. . . . The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner."

It was Hegel who brought to its highest form the philosophical thinking of bourgeois society. It was he who developed, albeit in a mystical form, the dialectical method, which Marx and Engels turned right side up, transformed into the most advanced philosophy of mankind, the philosophy of the proletariat, dialectical materialism.

Nevertheless, the English-speaking world has (except where Marxist thought has penetrated) for too long known Hegel primarily from his reactionary side. What has been remembered here are the reactionary conclusions to which the idealist content of his thought drove him, the idealization of the autocratic Prussian state, which he formulated at the end of his development. Particularly since the War of 1914, he has been widely regarded here and in England as the philosophic inspirer, first of autocratic militarism, now of fascism.

Even among those influenced by Marxism in America and England a full appreciation of the tremendous contributions which he has made has often been lacking. Best witness of this is the lack of any serious studies of Hegel, and ill-informed attacks upon him, even from certain purportedly Marxist sources.

It is therefore extremely important that there has recently appeared a study of Hegel, which despite definite weaknesses which we shall here discuss, makes a serious effort to bring Hegel's thought before the English-speaking world. *Reason and Revolution*, the work of a German refugee, Herbert Marcuse, attempts to show the progressive character of Hegel's dialectical method; to present Marxism as the heir of that method; and to demonstrate that the theoretical heritage upon which the obscurantist "ideology" of fascism is based is not Hegel's theory but rather that of the pigmy apologists of mid-nineteenth century reaction, who

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fashioned their "positivist" philosophy with the frank aim of defending existing privilege against the dialectics of Hegel.

Part I of the book, "The Foundations of Hegel's Philosophy," which contains a description and analysis of Hegel's position, is the only thing of its kind in the English language and will answer a need that has long been felt by those who desire a systematic guide to the study of Hegel. Considering Hegel's philosophy in its development from his youth onwards, and placing it against the social background of his time, it is a necessary and refreshing contrast to the abstract academic treatment of Hegel in the standard texts. Marcuse shows Hegel's role in the society of his day and in the revolutionary ideological current of the 18th century. He shows clearly the tremendous influence of the Great French Revolution upon the foundations of Hegel's thinking and indicates the source of his limitations as a philosopher of the bourgeoisie. This attempt to give a historical and social understanding of Hegel's gigantic role in the development of human thought is of great importance.

But important as it is that such an attempt has been made to place Hegel in his rightful historical perspective and to show the role of Marx as the inheritor of the best and most progressive thought of the past, Dr. Marcuse's idealist tendencies and his failure really to grasp the materialist character of Marxism seriously weaken his book. In fact, while they do not detract fom the validity of his effort or from the usefulness of a good part of the content, nevertheless the treatment of Marxist theory is such as to make it necessary to read his book with very great care if its positive value is to be realized. Furthermore, not understanding the significance of Marx's materialist transformation of Hegelian dialectics, and tending to consider Marxism as a mere continuation of Hegel, Marcuse is unable fully to place Hegel himself in his historical perspective. Thus, his judgment of Hegel also is weakened.

In his Preface, Dr. Marcuse says:

> "Hegel's critical and rational standards, and especially his dialectics, had to come into conflict with the prevailing social reality." (p. vii.)

In that sentence is contained both his main thesis and the weakness of his approach. Unquestionably, it is the limitation of Hegel's outlook as an ideologist of the bourgeoisie which brings about the contradiction between the revolutionary character of his dialectical method and the reactionary absolutism of the idealist content it receives at his hands. That a contradiction existed Dr. Marcuse shows, demonstrating how the critical dialectical development of Hegel's thought could not be stopped short, as Hegel tried to do, with the security of bourgeois property and the establishment of the Prussian state.

Dr. Marcuse correctly sees the conflict between the revolutionary dialectic and the bourgeois property

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relations upon which Hegel based himself. What he fails to understand is the inner ideological form taken by the contradiction—the conflict between the truth of the dialectic and the falsity of Hegel's idealist world outlook. The crux of the matter is not the conflict between Hegel's "rational standards" and "prevailing social reality." Those "rational standards" were precisely the aspect of his philosophy that was in accord with "prevailing social reality." They were precisely the limitation upon his dialectic.

"Rationalism" as a philosophical term means the acceptance of the power of reason to construct ideas of a "general," "universal" kind which are true, valid. It is used as opposed to the term "empiricism," which holds that human reason has no such power, that all that we can know is our immediate experience, the "given." Dialectics as developed by Marx, materialist dialectics, accepts the power of human reason, in inseparable unity with human practice, to comprehend the material world, to reflect the material world and the laws of matter in motion in its ideas, which are objectively true. These ideas are a guide to action in the material world because they correctly reflect the laws of motion of the material world.

But this differs profoundly from Hegel's rationalism, which, because of its idealist content, sees these ideas—"generals," "universals," as they are sometimes called—not as reflections of the material existing world but as themselves the only reality, of which the world around us is itself a reflection.

Hegel's rationalism is idealist. The basic ideological contradiction in Hegel's thought is *the contradiction between the falsity of this idealist world outlook and the truth of the dialectic.* It is this contradiction which, unresolved in Hegel's work, leads him inevitably in the end to the denial of his own dialectics, to the enthronement of the absolute.

It was not that Hegel's "critical and rational standards" came into conflict with existing bourgeois social reality; rather it was his critical dialectical method which was submerged and, in a sense, temporarily destroyed by his "rational standards," which are idealist standards. It is precisely in the content of Hegel's "rational standards" that his class limitations take form. Hegel, in his own life, exemplified the contradiction within the bourgeoisie, even when it is in its most revolutionary phase, and the certainty of its reactionary transformation.

Understanding the revolutionary potentialities of Hegel's dialectic, but failing to see that the fetters upon those potentialities are precisely his idealist conceptions, Marcuse cannot grasp the fact that in the very essence of Hegel's philosophy are contained reactionary (idealist) as well as revolutionary (dialectical) potentialities. He does not comprehend the profound significance of the creation of *materialist* dialectics. Marxism is to him therefore simply a continuation of Hegel.

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He does correctly see, however, that it is the dialectical method which is decisive in Hegel's philosophy; and that the limitation to its development had to be overcome and could be overcome only by uprooting it from its Hegelian foundation in the system of bourgeois private property, in a bourgeois social, economic and political order. He sees also that it was Marx alone of all the "followers" of Hegel who carried forward this development. He recognizes that in Marxist theory and practice the dialectical weapon, as it is turned against the false unity of existing society, is revitalized for the struggle for human freedom and progress. But he does not see that Hegelianism as such, idealist dialectics, could not be so turned against "the false unity of existing society"; that only the rooting of dialectics in a material world could make of it the scientific weapon of the most advanced class, the working class, and so make of dialectics the most powerful of weapons in the fight for human progress.

Thus, while he recognizes the contributions of Marxism in the world today, his failure to understand the materialist content of the Marxist transformation of Hegelian dialectics seriously weakens his analysis of Marxism.

This is evidenced by the limitation shown in such statements as:

"The totality that the Marxian dialectic gets to is the totality of class society, and the negativity that underlies its contradictions and shapes its every content is the negativity of class relations. The dialectical totality again includes nature, but only in so far as the latter enters and conditions the historical process of social reproduction. . . .

"The dialectical method has thus of its very nature become a historical method. *The dialectical principle is not a general principle equally applicable to any subject matter.* . . . Every fact can be subjected to dialectical analysis only in so far as every fact is influenced by the antagonisms of the social process." (pp. 314-315; *my emphasis,* F. M.)

Such a "Marxism" would make the knowledge of nature subordinate to and dependent upon social factors. It would not simply recognize, as real Marxism does, the truth that the theory and practice of any individual or class are based upon the historical development reached; it would substitute the idealist dogma that science cannot attain any true knowledge of the natural world. History, social practice, would thus be seen as a process occurring outside of nature, of time and space. Dialectics would thus be destroyed for us as an instrument of achieving truth.

From this it is not strange that Marcuse goes further and maintains:

"The Marxian dialectic is a historical method in still another sense: it deals with a *particular stage* of the historical process. . . . The *Entstehungsgeschichte* (the history of the maturing) of mankind, which Marx calls his prehistory, is the history of class society. Man's *actual* history will be-

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gin when this society has been abolished. . . . Marx's dialectic, therefore, is still bound up with the pre-historical phase." (pp. 315-316.)

It is true of course, that dialectical materialism, arising as the theory of the proletariat in bourgeois class society, is conditioned by the historical situation of the proletariat. But this is a different thing from saying, as Marcuse's further development of his point makes clear he means, that dialectical materialism is a guide to action only in class society, that its objective validity is limited to the processes of class society.

The universality of dialectical materialism, as a world outlook embracing both nature and society—all society—has been set forth in a masterly manner by Stalin:

"Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them is *dialectical*, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is materialistic.

"Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and its history." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 105, International Publishers, 1939.)

But Marcuse has a very different understanding, as he shows, for example, when he says:

"It is of the utmost importance to note that Marx views the abolition of private property entirely as a means for the abolition of alienated labor, and not as an end in itself. The socialization of the means of production is as such merely an economic fact, just like any other economic institution. Its claim to be the beginning of a new social order depends on what man does with the socialized means of production. If these are not utilized for the development and gratification of the free individual, they will amount simply to a new form for subjugating individuals to a hypostatized universality. The abolition of private property inaugurates an essentially new social system only if free individuals, and not 'the society,' become masters of the socialized means of production." (pp. 282-283.)

There is, of course, in one sense nothing to quarrel with in this statement. It is one of the virtues of Marcuse's book that it shows Marxism to be the theory of the transformation of society in which alienated labor, that is, the status of the worker as wage-slave, is abolished. But there are implications of something else as well. Marcuse seems to be saying that it is not possible to know scientifically that the abolition of private property in the means of production leads necessarily to the development by humanity of free socialist society, to the unlimited growth in the forces of production, to communism.

We now see the content of his

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thesis that Marxist dialectics is the theory *only* of class society and the class struggle. According to this thesis, with the abolition of private ownership of the means of production of classes, the scientific validity of Marxist dialectics ceases. It is not possible scientifically to predict socialist development even in its broad outlines; dialectical materialism cannot serve as a guide to the building of socialist society.

Of course, the history of the Soviet Union where, under the leadership of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party armed with dialectical materialism, a socialist society has been built and the development toward communism begun, has demonstrated in practice the falsity of this thesis.

But it is also here that Marcuse's theoretical distortion is seen most clearly. As was implied when he stated that what happened after the socialization of the means of production "depends" on what man "does with" the socialized means of production (not what man through his understanding of the *necessary* laws of social development can and must do with them), there is in his whole understanding a subjective, idealist bias.

He does not understand the development of socialism dialectically, as the historical development of freedom—which is the recognition and the conscious mastery by man of the necessary laws of nature and society.

* * *

Despite these serious limitations, however, Marcuse does succeed in making the point that Marx carries into practice in capitalist society the dialectical method of Hegel and thus provides the only possible weapon for the full realization of freedom today—the goal of Hegel and of all the 18th century bourgeois revolutionary thinkers.

Marcuse goes on to show how already in the 19th century the recognition of the revolutionary potentialities of Hegel's dialectics led to its repudiation by official bourgeois society in Germany and in Europe generally, to its designation as "negative" philosophy and the development by its opponents, the apologists of official society, of "positive" philosophy as a bulwark of existing social relations.

He analyzes the positivist philosophy of August Comte in France and of Friedrich Julius Stahl in Germany and the distortion of the dialectic by Lorenz von Stein, to show how each of these theorists in his own way helped to lay the foundation of an anti-dialectical outlook which based itself upon the "given" and entirely repudiated the possibility of any knowledge outside of the immediate empirical content of existing conditions.

Marcuse is entirely correct in pointing out and condemning the reactionary character of this positivist philosophy. It is important, in fact, to note that this tendency became the starting point of the whole modern positivist-pragmatic trend, which continues and grows stronger with the decay of capitalism; and which we know today in the teachings of the logical-positivists, of John Dewey, etc. But Marcuse,

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ignoring the basic philosophical conflict between idealism and materialism, fails to understand that the core of the reactionary character of positivism in all its forms is its idealism; that it is not merely mechanical and anti-dialectical; that it is, above all, idealist, mystical and anti-materialist. The basic division in philosophy is to him not that between materialism and idealism but that between "negative" and "positive" philosophy. In fact, what is primary in his critique of the positivist and "existential" trend is that it "denied the dignity and reality of the universal." (p. 267). This accusation from Marcuse's "rationalist" point of view means that he is condemning positivism, not primarily on the basis of its non-dialectical character, but above all at the point where it makes a pretense of being anti-idealist by its attack upon the validity of "universals." He fails to understand that it is precisely the abstractness and one-sidedness of the "universals" of rationalist, idealist philosophy which gave an opening for the attack of positivism; and that Marxism can serve as a weapon against positivist mystification precisely because the foundation of its theory is matter in motion and the laws of matter in motion, not abstract "universals." Not "negative" idealism, but materialism in its scientific dialectical form, is the effective enemy of idealist positivism.

Marcuse's attempt to group philosophers as "negative" (those with dialectical theories of society) and "positive" (non-dialectical philosophers), equating the "negative" with the revolutionary and the "positive" with the reactionary is an unreal, abstract division, which does not correspond with historical facts—that the actual decisive division is between idealist and materialist. The French materialists of the 18th century, for example, were materialist and revolutionary; they had very little of the dialectical approach. As, in fact, Marcuse himself recognizes, Hegel's own thought became transformed in his later life into a weapon of reaction, a glorification of the absolutist Prussian state. What distinguishes Marxism from the end of Hegel's system is that which places Marx in the same great human historical camp with the philosophers of the French enlightenment — materialism. It is this decisive division between materialism and idealism which, without the transformation of Hegel's dialectic into materialist dialectic, in the end bound Hegel's system to the chariot wheels of reaction.

In failing to comprehend the real secret of the self-stultification of Hegel's dialectic, Marcuse, though he can see that it occurred, though he can record the transformation of the revolutionary into the reactionary, fails to detect the Achilles' heel, the weak point, which made this outcome inevitable. That Achilles' heel, which made inevitable the passing of the dialectic of Hegel into the most rigid of absolutes, is his idealism.

Hegel ran away from the stunted reality of semi-feudal German society, seeking to construct a world

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of "pure thought." While the philosophers of the French revolution gave guidance to the progressive struggle of their class and nation, and a Milton condemned the isolation of thought from action in the burning words:

"I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised, and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." (*Areopagitica.*)

Hegel, who is in one sense the greatest of the bourgeois thinkers, who fashioned in his dialectic the weapon that would smash open the fetters of dogmatic reaction, suffered like his lesser colleagues from the fatal sickness of pure idealist abstraction, turning his back upon the burning problems of German society and German politics. His predecessor, Kant, Hegel himself, Fichte and Schelling, built their idealist worlds in almost total isolation from the problems of the society in which they lived. Or more, they made a virtue of that fatal defect, proclaiming the supreme power of "pure reason."

Marx and Engels were able to bring to bear the contributions of German philosophy in the life of society above all because they recognized this sickness and its causes and devoted their whole lives to the struggle against it; because they recognized that only in human practice could that philosophy be realized; because they were first of all materialists.

The soul of the German bourgeoisie, a class which at every decisive struggle pulled back its hand from the historical task of destroying feudalism and uniting the nation, is reflected in the abstract idealism of German philosophy, including Hegel. The German philosophers failed to give ideological leadership to the German people, as the German bourgeoisie failed to give political leadership. One cause reacted upon the other. As the bourgeoisie, more fearful of the maturing proletariat than bold for the development of their class and nation, at each crisis humbly subjugated itself to the princes and Junkers, so its philosophers deserted the field of battle for the less dangerous sphere of abstract reason.

And, as German economy grew in a distorted manner under the iron hand of a Junker-banker monarchy, bourgeois thought developed more and more in a reactionary and obscurantist way, as exemplified by the positivist philosophers described by Marcuse and such mystical aberrations as a Nietzsche or a Schopenhauer. This idealist betrayal of the German people culminated in the barbaric anti-scientific "blood thinking," which is the ideology of Nazism today.

It was Marx's understanding of the danger to Germany in the trend of its philosophy which enabled him as early as 1844, almost 100 years ago, to make a prediction, only too unhappily fulfilled in our time:

". . . Germany has only accompanied the development of nations

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with the abstract activity of thought, without taking an active part in the real struggles incident to this development. . . . Consequently, one fine day Germany will find herself at the level of European decay, before she has ever stood at the level of European emancipation." (Karl Marx, *Selected Essays*, p. 30; New York, International Publishers, 1926.)

It is the fatal weakness of German philosophy which Hegel shared—its abstract idealism—that Marcuse is unable to understand. Far from recognizing it as a weakness, at times he seems to excuse it, almost to consider it a virtue.

Thus it is that while he correctly understands that it is not the essential Hegel who is the ancestor of fascist ideology, he traces that ancestry not to the idealism shared in common by Hegel and the "positive" philosophers, but to the "positive" school as such.

It is perfectly true that in his scientific power Hegel towers above this positivist trend. He towers above them because of the scientific kernel in his thought, the dialectic. The essential Hegel is the dialectician.

Hegel is not the father of fascist ideology. The positivists of today, the logical positivists and the pragmatic-instrumentalists, who sneer at Hegel, themselves are the proponents of a mystic, anti-scientific idealism. They are an infinite distance further removed from science than is he, because their idealism is unrelieved by the scientific contribution of the dialectic. And here Marcuse makes an important contribution in showing how the positivist trend, and not Hegelianism, is one of the bases of fascist "theory."

He demonstrates that even Gentile, the Italian fascist philosopher who pretended to be a Hegelian, was in fact much closer to positivism; that his principle of the immediate identity of thought and reality, of truth and fact, and his repudiation of all thought which is "not immediate practice nor immediately consummated in action" (p. 408) are a complete distortion of Hegel's philosophy.

Here, and even more in his treatment of German fascist thought, Marcuse shows how:

"Loyalty to any truth that lies outside or beyond the practical aims of Fascist politics is declared meaningless. Theory as such and all intellectual activity are made subservient to the changing requirements of politics." (p. 409.)

In the case of the Nazi ideologists he shows that "the blood and soil" theories, the theories of *Volk* and *Volkgemeinschaft* are consciously a reaction against Hegel and against his "attack on action for action's sake," (p. 417), as well as against his theories of freedom and of "the unity of all men as rational beings." (p. 417.)

It is true that the fundamental opposition between Hegel's theories and the "theories" of Nazism is expressed here again in idealist terms. But what Marcuse indicates is notwithstanding of real importance. The program of Nazism, as understood from its beginnings by the Communists and now clear to the

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whole world in all its barbaric nakedness, could only be supported by a "philosophical outlook" which rejected the whole progress of human thought. Not Hegel's rationalist vindication of the Idea as absolute ground of existence, but rather the contributions which he made in his dialectical method to a knowledge of the scientific laws of nature and society, was the danger to the Nazis. Hegel summed up the gains of hundreds of years of man's progress to understanding. It is this which makes him the bane of Nazi spokesmen.

And it is precisely the rejection by positivism of the possibility of going beyond that which is immediately "given" to us, its rejection of human ability to comprehend the laws of motion of the real material world and so to control that world, which recommended it to the medicine men of contemporary Germany.

From Hegel the road onward is the road of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the road of Thaelmann, Browder, Thorez and Mao Tse-tung. Positivism points backward to the abdication of science, to the mental, moral and material bankruptcy of Hitler's hordes.

The Nazi "theoretician" Carl Schmitt says that on the day of Hitler's coming to power, "Hegel, so to speak, died." (Quoted by Marcuse, p. 419.)

But Hegel, we may say, died only in the universities and Brown Houses of Nazism; his contribution in the realm of philosophical thought lived and continues to live in the advanced theory of Marxism-Leninism, which guides the foremost battalions of the world-wide struggle for the destruction of Nazi tyranny.

As Marx said, speaking of a different period and a different crisis, we can say today:

"That crisis is once again approaching . . . and by the universality of its theater and the intensity of its action it will drum dialectics even into the heads of the mushroom-upstarts of the new, holy Prusso-German empire." (*Capital*, p. xxxi.)

FRANK MEYER.

A CORRECTION

In the article "Norman Thomas—A Spearhead of Fascism," by Israel Amter, which appeared in the June issue, the Washington *Post* was, through a regrettable error, listed as one of the defeatist newspapers. The reference was intended for the Washington *Times-Herald*.—*The Editor.*

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